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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to identify the reading strategies which facilitated or inhibited the progress of adult beginning readers (ABRs). An ethnographic approach was used so that factors influencing the ABRs' acquisition of these reading strategies could be identified. Using an adapted form of the Goodman and Burke taxonomy of oral reading miscues as initial framework, the investigators described reading behaviors of ABRs who were enrolled in the beginning learning-to-read classes at two adult basic education (ABE) sites in the Richmond, Virginia, metropolitan area. Although the idiosyncratic reading behaviors of ABRs precluded generalization, it was inferred that ABRs who thought of reading as discovering meaning were aware of when they were not gaining meaning; and those who had been exposed to syllabication and could manipulate vowels and syllables tended to make progress. ABRs who thought of reading as word calling, who did not make successive attempts at words, and who had trouble reorganizing visual input tended to make less progress. Implications for instruction include the observations that (1) ABRs who thought their teachers took into account their learning styles tended to stay in programs; (2) that the way a teacher conducts a lesson provides a model for learning; and (3) that students' beliefs about reading, perhaps guided by prior schooling, also influenced ABRs' reading strategies. Further research was suggested in order to establish guidelines for ABR instruction. (KC)

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ED219552

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON WORD RECOGNITION STRATEGIES OF ADULT BEGINNING READERS:

TECHNICAL REPORT

by Nancy Boraks, Ph.D.

and Sally Schumacher, Ph.D.

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I. Research on Word Recognition Strategies of Adult Beginning Readers

The purpose of this study is to describe factors influencing the acquisition of facilitating and inhibiting reading strategies by adult beginning readers in order to generate potential guidelines for instruction. This is the technical report on the project.

Need for the Study

Learning differences between child and adult learners have been discussed (Zahn, 1967; Knowles, 1977); yet there are limited data clarifying these differences as they operate in the process of learning to read. This may be the reason for the lack of guidelines on how to adapt the teaching of reading to the needs of the adult beginning reader (ABR). Most instruction of ABRs is based on methods developed for the child beginning reader (CBR), or based on research on CBRs and adult proficient readers. Instructional program adaptations are made for adults, but these are designed to suit the adults' cultural, economic, or experiential characteristics. Adaptations are not made to match the learning-to-read behavior of ABRs, because little is known about that behavior. Neither the research on the reading behavior of ABRs nor research on reading programs for ABRs provides this needed information.

Reading Behavior of ABRs

There are many ways to describe reading behavior. Yet, however it is described, there is evidence that the reading behavior of the ABR differs from that of the CBR. Reading behavior was once described in terms of accuracy of word recognition: how many words were omitted or substituted, what parts of a word the reader did not know, and so on. Today, reading behaviors or strategies are generally described in terms of the cues a student uses when dealing with text. The student has essentially four kinds of cues available: graphic (visual appearance); phonemic (sound/symbol association); syntactic (grammatical structure); and semantic (meaning).

Studies on the reading behavior of ABRs are rare. Some studies report on ABRs' use of substitutions, omissions, and so on (Monroe, 1932). However, only two studies providing more specific information on ABRs' use of cues could be found. These studies are discussed below.

When Monroe (1932) studied the reading behavior of children with reading difficulties and established norms or standards for the children's reading behavior (using such descriptive categories as omissions and substitutions), she also studied several adults. One adult described by Monroe was a college student reading on about a fourth-grade level. Monroe noted that this adult reader "showed marked variations from the standards for fourth-grade children" (p. 39). This adult reader did not demonstrate the same reading behavior as a child reading at the same level. Monroe's description of the adult reader would sound familiar to many adult education teachers. This adult, despite excessive errors, could report surprisingly well the content of the paragraph read and had problems holding a pattern; that is, she would, when reading rhyming words, switch patterns--saying, for example, "miss, bill, boy, till." Raisner (1978) studied adult nonproficient readers enrolled at a State college. While the achievement levels of these readers were not clearly established, the pattern of reading behavior of these adults underachieving in reading studies differed from the pattern of underachieving children. For example, Raisner reported that these adults made greater use of graphic and phonemic cues and much more limited use of semantic/syntactic cues than children.

Boraks (1978) studied ABRs' use of graphic, phonemic, syntactic, and semantic cues, and concluded that ABRs tended to vary a great deal in the use of these cues; specifically, they used semantic cues less than children and did not have the same pattern of using graphic/phonemic cues found in children (p. 9).

Reading behaviors of ABRs and CBRs, then, appear to differ in important ways. Thus, the information base derived from research on CBRs may be inappropriate for developing instructional guidelines for ABRs. Moreover, data derived from research on proficient adult readers would also seem to offer limited guidance. As Shrankweiler and Liberman (1972) explain, "Analysis of a well-practiced skill does not automatically reveal the stages of its acquisition, their order and special difficulty" (p. 296).

Reading Program for ABRs

To gain insight into appropriate instructional strategies for ABRs, information both on how they learn to read and on the factors inhibiting and facilitating this process is needed. There is little research on ABRs' reading behavior or on reading programs for ABRs. An analysis of successful ABR programs might be expected to provide information on factors influencing success. This is not the case because most writings on ABR programs, while they tend to provide descriptions of programs or compare the use of different approaches (Clason-Höök, 1977), do not make clear which elements of the program may account for success. In fact, analyzing program learning variables would be difficult because some of these approaches appear to provide only guided practice, not structured learning. The practice-versus-teaching orientation used with ABRs was also found to exist in actual practice by Mezirow, Darkenwald, and Knox (1975). These researchers had teams of observers collecting data on instruction in adult education centers in six cities in the United States. They concluded that adult education teachers tend to use the "present, recite, test, correct" approach to teaching.

Thus neither research on ABR programs nor actual programs offer specific instructional guidelines which account for success in learning to read. Reading programs for ABRs are not empirically justified (are not based on information on the reading behavior of ABRs). This, suggest Kavale and Lindsey (1977), may be why these programs so often fail.

There has been little emphasis in ABR research on developing better methods. Cook's (1977) history of adult literacy shows that the history of instruction of ABRs is a history of materials, not methods; and that the materials used with ABRs tend to be materials tried earlier with children. Again, the focus in teaching ABRs is on presenting and practicing "skills." Even an analysis of taught skills would not seem to provide guidelines for instruction. It may be as Otto states, that the skills needed to learn to read are the same for both CBRs and ABRs (1972, p. 299). Yet there is little agreement among reading researchers as to which skills are important, or in what sequence these skills should be taught, for either the child or the adult learner.

Despite this, the most popular programs for ABRs seem to be those stressing decoding (Laubach, Steck-Vaughn). Yet instructors using these programs are honest in reporting that students started in these programs seldom progress beyond the initial steps in learning to read. The reasons for this may vary. Some students may be satisfied with learning just the basic skills; others may become discouraged by the amount of time it takes to achieve even this initial level. Perhaps the skill focus itself misleads the ABRs, who may come to think that they can read if they have learned specific (decoding) skills.

Current information on the reading behavior of ABRs and on reading programs for ABRs cannot provide an adequate basis for generating instructional guidelines. It is not known exactly which ABR teacher or learner behaviors make it easier or harder to learn to read. An empirical basis for instruction, however, can be found only in an understanding of these behaviors.

Research on how children who read well and children who read poorly learn to read indicates that different word recognition and comprehension strategies are used by these two groups. It is recommended that readers be taught the strategies of "good" readers (Stauffer, 1975; Goodman and

Burke, 1972).

Boraks (1978) reported that ABRs at different levels of achievement used different reading strategies. However, she also described the reading behavior of ABRs as highly idiosyncratic; and she did not attempt to establish a relationship between an individual's evolving strategy and subsequent achievement. Information on such a relationship is needed if ABRs' facilitating and inhibiting behaviors in learning to read are to be identified.

Framework of the Study

To determine the productive and the nonproductive strategies of ABRs in learning to read, observation of the evolution of these behaviors over time in relation to achievement was planned. Observation frameworks were broad, because it was also considered important to learn about factors which promoted the use of certain reading strategies. This information on reading behavior and factors influencing this behavior would provide the empirical basis for developing guidelines for instruction.

The learning-to-read behaviors of ABRs, as noted above, were expected to vary. It was assumed that part of this diversity would be due to developmental or personological factors. As Bowen and Zintz (1977) point out, adults are less likely to try new approaches--because of long-standing habits, concern with failure, and a tendency to involve their self-esteem in learning. It was assumed also that the learning context would affect reading behaviors. To identify the impact of these factors on reading behavior, it was necessary to observe learners' behavior in naturalistic settings.

Objectives

Seven objectives related to the goal of learning about ABRs' reading behavior were outlined. These objectives clarify the steps taken to gather data needed to speculate on instructional strategies for ABRs. The objectives were:

1. To determine current reading strategies used by ABRs.
2. To determine the evolving pattern of specified reading strategies used by ABRs.
3. To determine the relationship between evolving patterns of use of specified adult reading strategies and reading achievement.
4. To relate productive and nonproductive patterns of reading strategies to instructional strategies (teacher behavior and materials).
5. To relate productive and nonproductive patterns of reading strategies to student characteristics (personological, developmental variables).
6. To derive potential guidelines for instruction of adult beginning readers from observed variables related to achievement.
7. To indicate where further research on the relationship among reading strategies, instructional strategies, and achievement is needed.

As these objectives indicate, oral reading behavior would be coded during observations. No further guidelines were established initially.

Potential Theoretical Bases

A broad theoretical framework for determining variables influencing ABR achievement would lend credibility and focus to potential research. However, two major variables recognized as crucial to understanding the process of learning to read--the teacher/student and student/student interactions--have not been incorporated into theoretical models of reading (Entwisle, 1977). Moreover, the learning context seems especially crucial for ABRs (in view of the high drop-out and drop-in rates). As noted earlier, most reading theories are based on observation and research on the behavior of CBRs and proficient adult readers. Therefore, use of an existing theory could have resulted in overlooking variables unique to the reading process as it operates for the ABR. And several recent and ambitious attempts to catalogue and assess the status of theoretical models of reading (Davis, 1972; Singer and Ruddell, 1976) have clarified the exploratory nature of existing theories and supported the commitment here to avoid a single theoretical framework. Perhaps, as Gibson and Levin (1975) indicate, "if there is no single reading process, there can be no single theory of reading" (p. 148). If there is no accurate single theory or model of reading, adopting a single theory would prejudice the study of ABRs' behavior in learning to read. It was therefore decided to use an open ethnographic framework in observing adult reading behavior. (See Chapter II.)

Participants

The ABRs who participated in this study included all ABRs who were enrolled in the beginning learning-to-read classes at two adult basic education (ABE) sites in the Richmond, Virginia, metropolitan area. The sites were selected because of proximity and the large enrollment of ABRs. All ABE program directors and teachers contacted agreed to participate. Three classes were observed: one class used an individual approach, two an eclectic approach. Various tutoring situations at one site were also observed. These settings are described more fully in Chapters II and IV.

The ABRs presented a diverse group of learners. Their ages ranged from 18 to 60; about half were black, half white; about half were male, half female. Most ABRs, as identified by job (blue collar) and residential area, were from lower-class, inner-city areas. Some data on all of the 60 ABRs who at some time attended the classes involved in the study have been included. However, detailed analysis of only 14 adults' reading behavior is reported. A full description of the ABRs is included in Chapter V.

Both the teaching and the student populations represent nonrandom samples of convenience, and no attempt to generalize results to other populations is made. As Boraks (1979) points out, neither the ABR population nor its learning context lends itself to the study of a true random population. The goal of this study was to gather some initial data on ABRs' reading behavior. These data were to serve as an empirical basis for initial speculation about useful guidelines for teaching ABRs. A second phase of this study (1981-82) would involve the validation of these guidelines.

Terminology

Data reported in this study include field observations by teachers and researchers with varying backgrounds in reading. Data reported include observations and comments made by these individuals, as well as comments by ABRs. The terminology used by individual students, teachers, and researchers has not been changed to fit standard professional guidelines, because to have done this would have distorted potential understanding of the perspective of the speaker. Thus, terms such as decoding, phonics, phonetics, and sounding-out appear. Phrases such as saying the sounds and breaking up words likewise have not been edited. In some cases, especially in early field notes, a misunderstanding of observed behavior is indicated by observers' comments. These data also were not edited because to some extent they revealed not only initial observer pre- and misconceptions, but also the value of repeated observations. The only changes made in field notes are to disguise the names of participants and to clarify phrases so as to increase the readability of the often cryptic field notes.

The terms reading behavior and reading strategy are used broadly here to refer to any oral response to the text, including oral reading and statements indicating comprehension of text. These terms are also used to refer to the students' use of specific semantic, syntactic, phonemic, or graphic cues. Learning behavior is used here as an inclusive term to refer to anything the student is observed to say or do in the learning situation.

Audience

It is expected that this report will be most useful to adult educators with backgrounds in reading and to reading researchers who are seeking to understand more fully the reading behaviors of ABRs. In addition, these data were gathered to provide researchers with an information base to guide future ABR research.

Summary

The goal has been to explore, describe, and hypothesize. The need for caution in drawing conclusions is pointed out repeatedly throughout this report. Suggested implications for future instruction are considered possibilities to be explored, not guidelines to be implemented. This research report represents an initial step in learning about ABRs. Further research related to implications drawn from this study is in progress. It is this subsequent research that can be used by adult education teachers. This report is for those seeking to gain insight into the right questions to ask; it is not for those seeking easy answers.

This chapter clarified the need for this study and discussed related background. Chapter II will describe the design of the study and present a rationale for ethnographic procedures. Chapter III will provide a description of the reading strategies of ABRs, relate the use of these strategies to achievement, and discuss instructional and research implications. Chapter IV will analyze factors influencing ABRs' acquisition of specific strategies, and present research implications. Chapter V will address the question of the impact of ABRs' general development as adults on their behavior in learning to read. Chapter VI will briefly summarize the study.

Chapters in this report were written by two different authors (Boraks, Chapters I, III, IV, and VI; and Schumacher, Chapters II, and V) and include field notes from five different observers and teachers. Therefore, differences in style and some repetition has been inevitable. However, every effort was made to keep this report consistent and readable.

II. Ethnographic Methodology

Ethnography is a research methodology which belongs to a genre of research called by various names, including educational anthropology, ethnography, participant-observation, case study, field study, and naturalistic inquiry. Participant-observation is the traditional methodology of anthropologists and has been used by the winners of the most prestigious sociological research awards given by the American Sociological Association (Becker, 1970). In educational research, the increased publication of ethnographic studies and methodological writings indicates recognition of the research contributions made through this mode of inquiry (Schumacher, 1979, and Wilson, 1977). As L. M. Smith (1978) notes,

> outside the dominant educational psychological paradigm in educational research, a larger body of research exists within the qualitative, ethnographic, participant-observation genre. . . . A brief overview . . . suggests its applicability to a broad array of problems within education--schools, classroom, curriculum development, and evaluation. (P. 329.)

This chapter states the foreshadowed problems and gives the rationale for the methodological decisions in the study. The steps in this study included 1) selecting and training a research team, 2) gaining access and acceptance in the field, 3) holding weekly staff meetings and seminars, 4) establishing the validity of the data base, and 5) presenting the results.

Foreshadowed Problems

An ethnographic study begins with foreshadowed problems regarding the setting and the events, in contrast to statistical hypotheses. Malinowski made the distinction between "foreshadowed problems" and "preconceived solutions." As he stated half a century ago:

> Good training in theory, and acquaintance with its latest results, is not identical with being burdened with "preconceived ideas." If a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove certain hypotheses, if he is incapable of changing his views constantly and casting them off ungrudgingly under the pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless. But the more problems he brings with him into the field, the more he is in the habit of molding his theories according to facts, and of seeing facts in their bearing upon theory, the better he is equipped for the work. Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of a scientific thinker, and these problems are first revealed to the observer by his theoretical studies. (Malinowski, 1922, pp. 8-9.)

Malinowski calls attention to the need for an awareness of the theories, research, issues, and debates in that area of social science in which the setting and the problem lie. Foreshadowed problems are those questions which represent an initial and partial analysis of the problem, a general idea of the concepts in relevant research areas, and tentative modes of thinking. These questions are partly dependent upon the intellectual heritage which the ethnographer brings to the field, and which enables the investigator to recognize a problem.

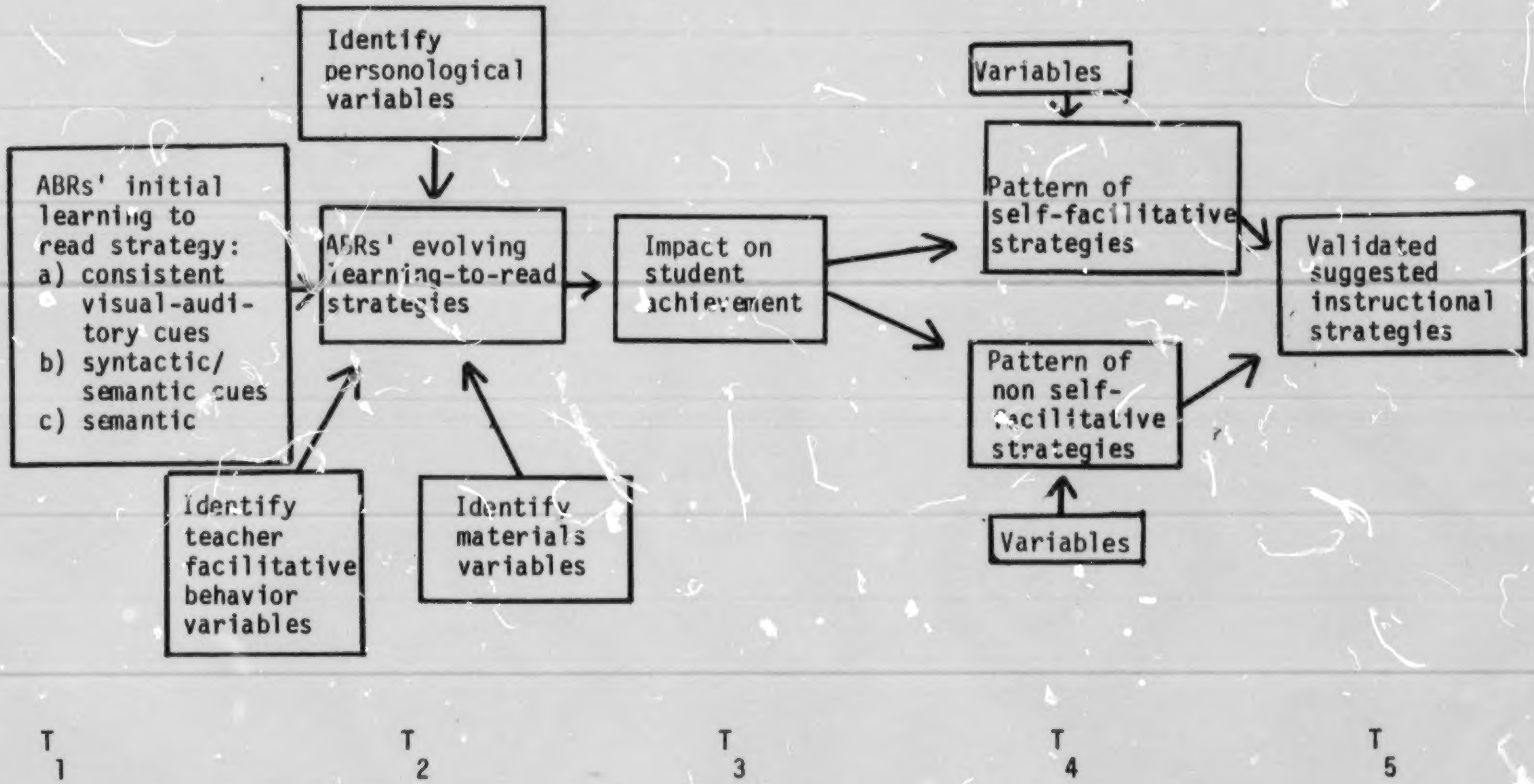
The statement of foreshadowed problems or research questions also reflects the possible theoretical stance which may be taken in the actual study. Whether one enters the field with a sociological, a psychological, an organizational, or a political perspective, it seems important that this stance be made explicit. In essence, the ethnographer who enters the field with several conceptual frameworks or competing theories regarding the event--such as learning, curriculum development, teaching, and creativity--is able to recognize more easily what does occur and explore more fully the conceptual realities of the settings. As events unfold in the natural setting, the various conceptual frameworks and theories are cast aside or combined or reworked until concepts or variables which most closely fit reality have been generated. The open-ended quality of the research process is necessary for discovery rather than verification research.

The foreshadowed problems in this study were specified in the project proposal (1980, p. 4), and are equivalent to the first five objectives listed on p. 7 above. The focus of this study is the learning-to-read behaviors of ABRs. This focus is schematically presented in Figure 1.

The initial conceptual frameworks relevant to this study were drawn from 1) reading theories (i.e., psycholinguistics, information processing, perceptual theories); 2) sociology (i.e., group processes, roles, norms); 3) anthropology (i.e., multicultural language, dialects, and customs); and 4) adult learning theories. Some of these conceptual frameworks, such as those from anthropology, provided insufficient explanatory power. Other conceptual frameworks (e.g., adult development) were added as the data began to accumulate.

Figure 1

Focus of Reading Process Observation


Identify personological variables
ABRs' initial learning to read strategy:
a) consistent visual-auditory cues
b) syntactic/semantic cues
c) semantic
ABRs' evolving learning-to-read strategies
Impact on student achievement
Variables
Pattern of self-facilitative strategies
Validated suggested instructional strategies
Pattern of non self-facilitative strategies
Variables
Identify teacher facilitative behavior variables
Identify materials variables
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5

T = Time

________ previous research indicates that these are the variables in the learning-to-read process

Definition and Methodological Rationale

Definition

Ethnography in this study had three characteristics. The research design was a case study which focused on the learning-to-read process of adults in beginning reading instructional situations. Although there were numerous contrasting instructional situations, the design was noncomparative. Case study design differs from experimental design, which compares statistically equivalent groups of selected subjects. Case study design is based on a philosophy of science called phenomenology (Stake, 1978; Bruyn, 1966).

Second, data were analyzed through recognized qualitative procedures (Denzin, 1978; Guba, 1978). Data included the field notes of the observers, documents and materials used in the settings, and statistics descriptive of test results. The analysis of the multiple sources of data and the multiple kinds of data was qualitative (rather than quantitative, as in the use of statistical tests of significance).

Third, ethnography is field research which focuses on the participants in their natural setting. The data consisted of extensive field notes, based on noninterfering systematic observations, which described the events as they occurred. Participant-observation allows the researchers to observe more directly the complexity of reality without the reactive effects (Webb et al., 1981) and threats to internal validity often associated with experimental control and manipulation of treatments.

Rationale

Ultimately, the use of ethnographic procedures developed from the purpose and context of the study. Boraks (1979) noted that adult education programs are diverse in adult characteristics, are diverse in program characteristics, serve a fluid population, and involve a complex learning situation with a multiplicity of variables. The context for this study contained elements difficult to match with the requirements for experimental design; if such an experiment were conducted, the results would be of limited internal and external validity.

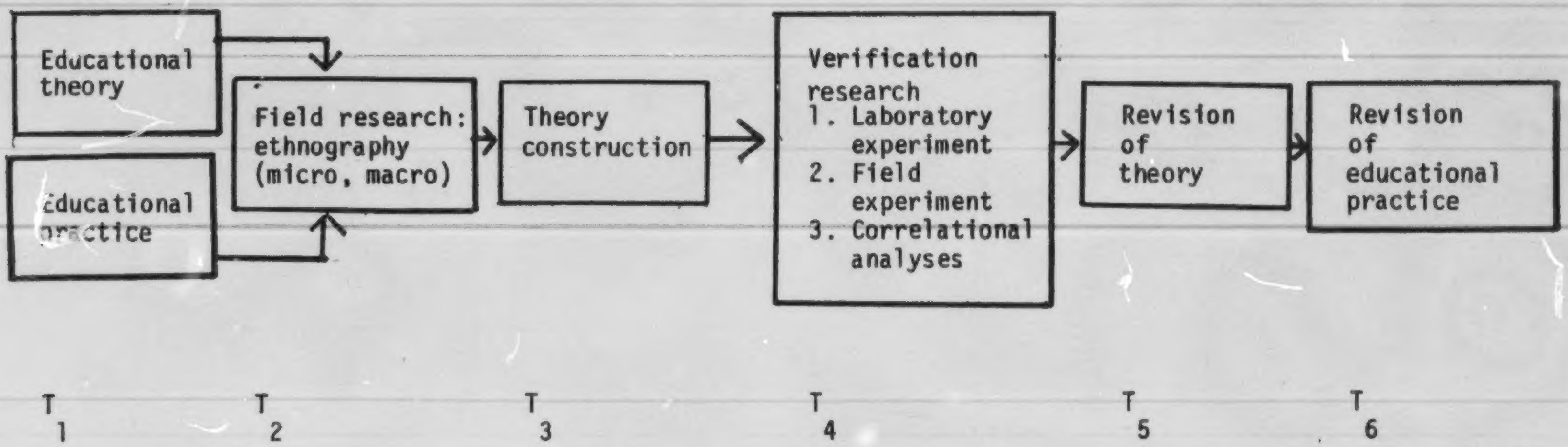
The purpose of this study was exploratory rather than verification research. As noted in the proposal (1980), knowledge of adult learning-to-read processes is at an embryonic stage. Learning theories for adults are now evolving. Theories of reading have been largely derived from research on proficient adults or on children. There are problems of definition with the terms adult and literacy.

Ethnographic procedures provide a methodology which links theory to practice, and ultimately to the revision of practice, through exploratory and verification studies. Most studies present a descriptive narrative, i.e., "tell the story" of the participants, settings, and incidents. The focus is usually on groups and their activities as they evolve over time. Process analysis is emphasized. The descriptive accounts, in lay language, are a synthesis of the many perspectives obtained from the multiple kinds of data. This description represents the first level of interpretation, and, in some studies, is sufficient for the research purpose.

Other studies go beyond the descriptive narrative to add an analytical-

Figure 2

Ethnographic Inquiry and Education Research *


Educational theory
Educational practice
Field research: ethnography (micro, macro)
Theory construction
Verification research
1. Laboratory experiment
2. Field experiment
3. Correlational analyses
Revision of theory
Revision of educational practice
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5
T_6

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* Adapted from L. M. Smith and W. Geoffrey, The complexities of an urban classroom: An analysis toward a general theory of teaching (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 249.

interpretive-theoretical dimension. Because case studies of classrooms or schools often have a holistic quality, they face the dilemma of the scope of theory. Various levels have been suggested (Glasser and Strauss, 1967; Merton, 1957; Zetterberg, 1965), such as miniature theories, middle-range theories, and substantive theories in contrast to abstract theory, formal theory, or general theory. Miniature or middle-range theories seem most appropriate to ethnographic studies. Concepts or variables are derived from the data. Examples of concepts developed in ethnographic studies are "conceptual clarity" (Smith and Schumacher, 1972) and "realistic opportunism" (Schumacher, 1976). The relationships between two or more concepts are the basis for hypotheses and theories. Ethnographic studies have developed miniature theories of pupil roles (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968), of individualized instruction (Smith and Keith, 1971), and of involuntary superintendent turnover (Iannaccone and Lutz, 1970), to name a few. Because the concepts or theories are derived from case studies, these provide direction for verification research, which can lead to further revision of the theory. The function of ethnographic studies in the scientific process is presented schematically in Figure 2.

Thus, ethnographic study, as an exploratory mode of inquiry, may uncover new variables not yet identified in the literature, and may provide the most valid available means of operationalizing concepts for further verification studies. Further, because of its field orientation, subsequent changes in practice are more relevant, feasible, and reality-based.

Procedures

Selecting and Training a Research Team

The research team was selected to provide different experiential, training, and conceptual orientations. One senior investigator, a professor of reading, had tutored ABRs in centers and done previous research on adult reading. The other senior investigator was a professor of educational research with an interdisciplinary orientation and a specialization in ethnography. One research assistant had a B.S. in sociology and had taught special education. The second research assistant had a B.A. in political science and was "new" to the field of education. Thus, one team member lacked teaching experience, and two team members had only general knowledge of the teaching and learning of reading.

The initial training of the research team stressed the mechanics of taking field notes and writing summary observations. During the first month, each senior investigator and research assistant observed the same class and then shared field notes at a staff meeting. Even the varied ways of taking field notes--lengthy paragraphs about a major event, or an abstract concept with observations woven into the narrative, or almost verbatim conversations and literal observations--seemed to reflect the different orientations of the team members. The summary observations and interpretive asides, especially those concerning what each researcher initially noticed and the questions to pursue upon returning to the site (Geer, 1964; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973), emphasized the complexity of the phenomena.

Procedures were established to organize and file the data. All field notes were dated with the date and place of observation and the occasion of observation (class instruction, tutoring session, interview, testing). The summary observations also contained the name of the observer. Summary observations were typed and duplicated. A folder containing both the summary observations and the field notes was filed by site and date.

Gaining Access and Acceptance in the Field

The cooperation of the centers was easily obtained. The directors of the centers recognized the immediate and long-range benefits of study of adults' learning-to-read processes. These experienced directors were already aware that working with adults differed from their previous experience in instruction or administration of programs for children aged six to sixteen years. The directors suggested the appropriate classes, introduced the co-directors of the project to the teachers, and presented the project to the various classes. A co-director was present at each orientation to answer any questions from the adult class members.

Establishing and maintaining the trust of the ABRs was a continuous task (Guba, 1980) and a team effort. The researchers dressed very casually to blend in with the participants. Procedures to minimize the differences between the educational levels of the students and the researchers were used--e.g., unobtrusively writing in small notebooks. Student names and brief personal information were deliberately memorized to facilitate conversations. Seldom, initially, would an ABR talk to a researcher unless the observer spoke his or her name first in a friendly manner. Researchers acknowledged that they could not read everything in print, praised achievement by students, and empathized with the teacher. To avoid the appearance of too many authority figures or learned strangers in an ABR class, only one researcher was usually scheduled to observe per period.

Different procedures were used to gain acceptance in different classes. One research assistant, initially seen as the word-list teacher and later seen as "the lady who takes notes and who likes to listen to you read," realized that the ABRs, regardless of the official explanation of the project, were unsure of her role. In time, she defined her role as a reading helper by initiating assistance during class study time. The second research assistant, who more easily blended in with the ABRs because of his appearance, never forced his presence on an individual but always responded in an interested and concerned manner. One senior investigator, who looked markedly different from the group and who observed less often than the other researchers, was viewed solely as an observer by ABRs. This limited the potential data base, and this investigator shifted to observing tutoring sessions. In several classes, the observer was often in the role of teacher's assistant, working with those individuals whom the teacher designated.

Each researcher had to acquire the ABRs' trust in a manner which was a sincere expression of herself or himself as a person in a role the ABRs were familiar with. Official approval and rational explanations of the project and the observers were not sufficient. The ABRs could recognize and respond to the roles of tutor, teaching assistant, and tester, but not to that of simple observer. Unlike subjects of previous ethnographic research in elementary classrooms and other educational agencies (Schumacher, 1972, 1975), these adults continued to interact with the researchers rather than ignore or forget their presence. This may have been due to the fluid student population and the changing classroom atmospheres.

As the research team became more accustomed to the centers, staff, classes, and adults, acceptance in the field was established. When new students joined a class, the "regulars" legitimized the presence of the observer. When a substitute taught one class for a week, some ABRs asked one research assistant to be their teacher next year because they knew their regular teacher would be working elsewhere. Conversations were easily initiated by both the observer and the adults. However, the topics of conversation were usually those of the ABRs. Subtle efforts to steer conversations were often unsuccessful. It was important to note what was discussed as well as what tended to be ignored.

Weekly Staff Meetings and Seminars: Multiple Research Roles and Evolving Foci

Weekly staff meetings made it possible to collect data as a team rather than as four separate investigators. Staff meetings a) identified initial conceptualizations and emerging foci reflected in the data, and b) continually adjusted the research roles to obtain a valid data base for the topic under study.

Multiple research roles were required because the instructional programs of each center differed in several respects from previously studied adult learning centers (Mezirow, Darkenwald, and Knox, 1975). By mapping (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973) each adult learning center, the team discovered that instruction was not limited to a one-hour class period but also occurred in various learning niches (Barker and Gump, 1964) at various times from 8:45 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. These learning niches were a) carrels where students practiced with tapes and workbooks, b) individual tutoring with volunteer paraprofessionals, c) individual tutoring with the ABR teacher, d) monthly student-teacher conferences to review progress and set goals, e) conferences to review standardized-test results, f) field trips, and g) center-wide special programs for all students. Because of the multiple learning niches within each site, researchers were assigned to observe various niches to see the totality of the instructional process (Schumacher, 1979). Each learning niche required various degrees of participation, from complete participant to complete observer (Gold, 1958), and specific skills in the research role.

An inside/outside technique similar to Whyte and "Doc" (1955) and to Smith and Geoffrey (1968) was also used. An evening ABR class with the research assistant who had no previous teaching experience as the teacher and a senior investigator as the observer was established. Although the researcher-teacher could only sporadically summarize a class session, the senior investigator's notes were extremely rich data. No attempt was made to direct the researcher's instruction. However, the effect of the teaching experience on the research assistant was a high level of consciousness, observation, and concentration on the evolving research topic (Eisner, 1979) and subsequent seeking of suggestions. This yielded provocative insights and questions in areas of instruction, group dynamics, sequential learning, risk-taking skills of ABRs, cues to frustration levels, and the meaning of relevancy to these ABRs.

Another approach used to obtain oral indices of learning to read was the encouragement of teachers and tutors to try out various instructional techniques or materials and to analyze the results in terms of the evolving research questions. This practice contrasted with manipulation of a single variable to measure the effect on the dependent variable. Teacher and tutors were encouraged to have more group oral reading and discussion. This approach worked better with tutors than with teachers, who were concerned with immediate instructional problems. Oral reading was more natural in a tutoring situation. Insights were gleaned from the tapes of weekly tutoring sessions and from the discussions of the sessions by tutor and researcher.

Weekly staff meetings were held to coordinate and plan the multiple research roles. When attempting to gather both records through taping and more traditional ethnographic noninterfering observation without research control, the team had to use multiple research techniques. Flexibility and various skills within each role and across the roles were essential to obtain the different levels of abstraction in the data and to investigate the emerging foci.

Identifying the emerging foci of the study was a continuous process throughout the eight months of observation. Periodic lengthy seminar staff meetings were held. Each researcher scanned his or her summary observation notes and presented to the staff initial conceptualizations and emerging research questions. Records of seminar discussions were kept.

For example, one focus was on the individual adult students. A reading profile synthesized all observations collected at that point in terms of reading behaviors and established a baseline. The reading profile contained the name of the adult; identity number; age; background information; and perceived behavior in instruction, word recognition, language, and comprehension. Each entry included the date of observation. The reading profiles were periodically updated throughout the year. At the end of the observation period, adult profiles were written on those students on whom enough data had been collected. The adult profile included physical appearance, attitude and personal relationships, work habits, family, teacher relationship, peer relationship, academic attitude, reading behavior, and purpose in attending the center. These profiles and the observation data became the basis for the Adult Snapshots presented in the chapter on adult development.

Also, initial conceptualizations were explored in the seminar staff meetings. For example, an early conceptualization was that of E. T. Hall's "silent language." Silent language was the

> elaborate patterning of behavior which prescribes our handling of time, our special relationships, our attitudes toward work, play, and learning. In addition to what we say with our verbal language, we are constantly communicating our real feelings in our silent-language--the language of behavior. (Hall, 1959, p. 15.)

After a month in the field, the team identified multiple language foci in the centers. The three language foci--i.e., learning-to-read language, language of instruction, and socialization language--appeared together in the field notes throughout the eight months of observation. Although these languages appeared analytically discrete, in reality they were intertwined.

In seminar meetings, the researchers identified variables and research questions beyond those initially proposed in the foreshadowed problems. Variables that influenced the miscues of these ABRs were peer behavior, textual constraints, teacher, prior instruction, perception of how one learns, previous teacher, text skills, experience with print outside the center, attitude toward risk-taking, view of reading, and language. However, a tentative list of variables was merely the first step in the search for deeper meanings.

More questions arose about the interrelationships of variables that seem to influence reading behavior. For example, why do some adults consistently use syntactic cues in oral reading? Why do some adults retell a story, not according to what they accurately read aloud, but on the basis of their personal experience? Why do most ABRs exhibit only concrete thinking in contrast to abstract reasoning? Why do ABRs consistently not talk about ideas derived from reading, ask speculative questions, or puzzle about abstract concepts? How does being overwhelmed with the problems of survival in a complex technological society affect the learning-to-read process for an adult?

Validity of the Data Base: Standards of Adequacy

Standards of adequacy for a valid data base in an ethnographic study include on-site observation, use of "muted cues" and "unobtrusive measures," extensive field notes, and triangulation. The most elementary requirement of the methodology is participant-observations in the sense of "being-in" the setting. This distinguishes the methodology from research based on surveys, interview schedules, laboratory settings, or tests which tend to make the subjects conscious of the research. The ethnographer seeks to avoid interfering and so to avoid contaminating the data. Guba (1978) suggests possible sources of distortions that the ethnographer is constantly on the alert to prevent. The research team believed distortions were minimized through the use of a team approach. From September through December, two researchers observed the morning classes, and one researcher observed weekly tutoring sessions. In addition, the inside/outside procedure was used in an evening class. The observation schedule changed in December with the addition to the study of a second site. One researcher observed two mornings a week at one site, a second researcher observed two mornings a week at a second site, and the inside/outside procedure continued through May. To cross-validate observations, the researchers switched morning observation sites in April and May. In essence, the research team observed the totality of two sites.

Close observation in a setting produces what Andrew Haplin (1966) has called "muted cues" and what Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrist, and Grove (1981) have called "unobtrusive measures." An observer listens and looks for offhand comments and explanations, raised eyebrows, hints that anyone is behaving atypically. Reactions of pupils to a teacher, of teachers to an administrator, or of staff members to one another, are constantly scanned in unstructured moments and settings such as coffee breaks, lunch, and changing of classes. Unobtrusive measures include such things as student drawings displayed in a hall, the lesson outline on the blackboard, the proverbs posted on bulletin boards, the planning charts on an administrator's desk, the attendance procedures in a center, the center's newspaper. These are the muted language--unobtrusive traces of unverbalized meanings that deepen the quality and validity of the data.

Extensive field notes indicate the length of time in the field and the scope and focus of the research problem. Field work is a labor-intensive mode of inquiry. The research team continually returned to the field during the eight months, noting the common-sense boundaries of the semesters. The field notes and summary observations ultimately became over 850 single-spaced typed pages that described processes over time. In addition to the observational typed records, testing data were collected on a number of ABE students.

Triangulation is a means of ensuring the validity of the data. The essence lies in obtaining, over a period of time, different kinds of data from different persons in different organizational positions in different settings. As Denzin (1978) noted, triangulation is qualitative cross-validation among multiple data sources, research methods, and theoretical schemes. Similarly House (1977, p. 31) writes:

> Validity is provided by cross-checking different data sources and by testing perceptions against those of participants. Issues and questions arise from the people and situations being studied rather than from the investigator's preconceptions. Concepts and indicators "derive from the subject's world of meaning and action." In constructing explanations, the naturalist looks for convergence of his data sources and develops sequential, phase-like explanations that assume no event has single causes.

In this study, triangulation was achieved through multiple methods, participants, situations, and organizations. Below is a summary of the sources of data used in corroboration of the findings.

Methods: observations, casual conversation, focused interviews, testing; active engagement in role of tutor, assistant, teacher; documents: centers' newspapers and announcements, project proposal, attendance cards, enrollment forms, state ABE newsletters

Participants: centers' directors, ABR teachers, ABR students, adult education teachers, adult education students

Situations: research team staff meetings; 310 state conference; centers' administrative offices, classrooms, testing rooms

Organizations: State Department of Education, university, public school systems

Presenting the Results

The chapters that focus on reading, instruction, and learning to read present selected examples from the field notes and summary observations to illustrate the major findings. These chapters synthesize what previous research indicates is the knowledge-base for adults learning to read and add additional findings based on this study.

The chapter on adult development and ABRs' reading behaviors presents the data in the form of Adult Snapshots, which include observation of the adult in the learning-to-read process and syntheses of many kinds of data in the form of sketches. The term snapshot is meant to convey the tentative nature of a picture of an adult at one moment in the life span. The findings based on these fourteen adults are also tentative, and the implications are suggestive rather than programmatic.

III. Oral Reading Miscues of the Adult Beginning Reader

The reading strategies that a beginning reader uses to recognize words appear to be related to level of reading proficiency (Biemiller, 1970; Boraks, 1978). One goal of this report is to provide an analysis of the ABRs' evolving use of reading strategies. Changes in the ABRs' use of these strategies will be related to subsequent achievement in order to gain insight into which reading strategies make learning to read easier. Reading strategies will refer here to the use of available graphic, phonemic, semantic, and syntactic cues to recognize words. This chapter will focus upon word-recognition strategies as they appear to be employed during ABRs' oral reading.

Field observations, interviews with students, and reviews of related research guided the development of the framework for describing and analyzing the reading strategies of ABRs. This chapter will (1) explain the miscue framework, (2) explain the evolving framework for analyzing ABRs' reading strategies, (3) describe the collection and coding of the ABRs' use of reading strategies, (4) describe the reading strategies of ABRs, (5) indicate these strategies' relation to subsequent success or failure, and (6) suggest implications for instruction and research.

Frameworks for Analyzing Reading Behavior

It has been often pointed out that although reading is a covert process, students of reading must depend on overt responses--such as readers' statements about what they are doing and readers' performance when given reading tasks. Analysis of the oral reading errors of students has been used to provide a description of the readers' skill needs (Hill, 1936) and learning-to-read behavior (Weber, 1970; Au, 1977; Goodman, 1965). A student's error can be analyzed to determine which cues were used or misused in rendering a word. Because some cue is used in misreading, the word miscue has been preferred over the term error. The assumption is that a student uses the same cues when a word is rendered correctly as when the word is rendered incorrectly. Thus, the analysis of miscues is assumed to provide a description of the student's reading behavior or strategies. However, since it was recognized that adults could provide information on their own reading strategies, two sources of information were used to describe reading behavior in this study: (1) ABRs' statements about how they figured out words or how they would teach other people words, and (2) ABRs' oral reading performance (pattern of miscues).

Collecting statements about reading behavior was relatively simple. During classroom observations of reading lessons, observers recorded statements students made about reading, directions on reading that students gave to peers, and questions students asked teachers about reading. Information was also gained during interviews following the periodic testing, using a series of specially developed word lists and matched paragraphs called the Quick Inventory of Progress (QUIP). The following questions were asked of ABRs: How do you figure out a word you do not know? How would you teach someone a word? How would you teach someone to read? What do you have to know to learn to read?

The analysis of these data (observation/interview) was kept open-ended.

ABRs' statements were recorded, and will be reported as completely as possible. Thus, analysis itself does not limit the data reported. This is not the case for the analysis of oral reading performance. Data on the ABRs' oral reading performance included oral reading errors, ability to retell a passage read, and ability to answer simple questions of fact and inference on material read. ABRs' class performance and performance on from two to five forms of the QUIP produced a vast number of raw data, which are presented in an organized summary. The goal was to analyze these data so as to provide maximum insight into the reading strategies of the ABRs. It was recognized that the framework for analyzing the data would at the same time focus and constrain the description of ABRs' reading behavior. Frameworks for analyzing oral reading behavior can be restrictive, as the history of such analysis indicates. Early studies analyzing students' reading miscues tended to focus on visual similarity (graphic cues). Thus, if a student reading the sentence *The dog will eat the meat* read, *The dog will eat make*, the analysis would point out that *make* and *meat* had three common letters, and that the student missed the middle part of the word, *ea*, and might have problems organizing letters (Hill, 1936). Other early studies analyzed the use of graphic and sound-symbol (phonemic) cues. Thus, the analysis of the reading behavior of the student above would focus on the inability to decode the medial vowel *ea* in *meat*, and the student's inability to decode initial and ending letters (Monroe, 1932). Recently, Goodman (1965, 1970), Smith (1978), and others have emphasized the role of language in reading. Goodman (1965) proposed that miscues be evaluated in light of the use of meaning/language cues. This extended the analysis of students' miscues. For example, the rendering of meat as make in the sentence above would be evaluated in terms of the use of syntactic cues (grammatical relationships) or semantic cues (meaning).

Goodman's (1965) taxonomy of miscues has provided a broad framework for understanding reading behavior. Goodman and Burke (1971), using Goodman's taxonomy of reading miscues, suggested that miscues be classified under nine categories: dialect, intonation, graphic similarity, sound similarity, grammatical function, correction, grammatical acceptability, semantic acceptability, and meaning change. The effect of the miscue on comprehension was also considered. This taxonomy focuses less on specific skills (i.e., vowels, consonants known) and less on graphic features (i.e., proportion of similar adjacent letters, shared letters) than earlier studies (Weber, 1968). The earlier studies suggested a view of reading as a visual or decoding process. The Goodman and Burke (1971) framework promoted a view of reading as a meaning/language process, but includes an analysis of graphic and phonemic cues.

Adapting the Miscue Framework

The Goodman and Burke (1971) framework was viewed as more inclusive and therefore was used initially in analyzing the reading behavior of ABRs. Several adaptations were made in the Goodman and Burke inventory as the reading behavior, comments, and instruction of ABRs indicated that a closer look at the use of certain strategies was needed.

Classroom Behavior: Related Adaptations

Both classroom observations and research on miscues provided direction for the adaptation of the analysis of miscues. Classroom behavior led to adaptations related to graphic cues, dialect, and successive attempts.

Graphic Cues: When ABRs were asked what they needed to know to learn to read, students frequently responded, "Spelling"--indicating that they considered visual features of a word important:

> Mavis reiterated the importance of spelling when Bill said, "If I could spell half the things I said, I'd be all right." Mavis: "Me, too." (2/10)

Also, teachers tend to take note of students' need to spell:

> Some students are still concerned over spelling. Mrs. B says she does not want the students to go on if they can't spell the words. She feels spelling the words correctly is one way of showing they know the words. Mrs. B said, if the students can spell the words they will be able to recognize them again. (4/15)

However, as field notes indicate, there are some problems in the apparent use of spelling to decode a word.

> Tim spelled out young (from the board)--/w/ /o/ /u/ /n/ /g/ (2/10)
>
> Brad spells out some words as he decodes. He says, "broken /b.o.k./brol/" (2/10)

Students constantly note that one word looks like another; they have rarely been heard to say "that sounds like" another word. The focus on spelling tends to be related to a focus on "saying" the words, as field notes demonstrate:

> I hand out The Desert LEA story based on picture done by Mavis last week. Mavis reads, I do echoic reading with Al. I asked Al to explain it, he says his mind was occupied with just trying to read it. Then I read aloud slowly and Al explains it well. Mavis, who thought the story up, explains it in a fashion I don't quite get the gist of. But it has to do with fantasy. (OBS: Mavis is changing the meaning of the story--this seems interesting, that meaning can be so fluid. She does not, however, change the rendering of words.) (4/16)
>
> Comment by one ABR after reading--she knows most of these words, but just can't get them when she reads. Bill made a very similar comment!! He said, "I know; I know the word." (2/14)

This apparent visual focus was recognized in other ABRs' comments:

> Alice continually makes comments like, looking at the word boy, "If it were t it would be toy." She seems to recognize visual similarities, but does not use or know the auditory association. (10/14)

When asked how they would teach another student an unknown word, students' answers also revealed a focus on graphic features and a concomitant total inability to use phonemic features:

> Rick, when asked how he would teach a word, said, "I would teach make--I'd give the letters and make words for each sound--
> like: E--eat
> A--apple
> K--kitten
> M--man.
> Then I would write a sentence." (10/14)

ABRs also appeared to use letter names, not letter/sound associations, to learn a word. When asked how they learned a word, most said "spell it again and again" or "write it." This was substantiated by their class behaviors:

> The teacher put a word up on the board and asked the students to copy it. Then he covered it up. Then said, "take a second look." Mavis said, "I missed one." She wrote: tr-p. Mr. A. wrote trip and Mavis said, "Train." Then, after Mr. A. said the word, she said, "trip, /tr/, trip, things, t.r.i.p." (4/12)

Again, preoccupation with visual features is suggested by an ABR who said that when she wanted to figure out a word, "I look at it till it comes to me."

As this suggests, initial coding revealed a difference between the ratings of graphic and phonemic cues. Students apparently did not know enough sound/symbol relationships to substitute a phonologically similar but graphically dissimilar word (that is, coffee would not result in an ABR's saying "cough." A student would more likely render coffee as bottle, a word more visually than phonemically similar). Accordingly, the miscue inventory was adapted to focus more on graphic cues.

This graphic-cue focus facilitated analysis of taught skills. Observations of reading behaviors led to description of the use of skills teachers were introducing. Instruction stressed decoding and use of context, but students' reactions and subsequent reading behavior suggest that this is not what is learned:

> The teacher said to Joy, "It's real important to know beginning sounds" (10/80).
>
> She worked on the sounds of /m/, /h/, /p/, /t/. Doug is really having trouble hearing the sounds. He is trying to match the sounds and find the exceptions to the sound given. The teacher asks him to cross out that word that is different. She says, "mat, boy, mike, may." Doug has trouble not only with the new sound, but also with the one sound in the row of sound

> that is different and is a review sound. (1/12)
>
> The teacher reviews word families starting with /-ate/. From words with similar sounds (bake) they generate other examples. All contribute consistently except Bob and Al. Frances gives some that have same initial letter or ending sound. The teacher asks Bob if he sees the groups and similarities. He says yes (despite looking confused) and also says, "I just can't think of the words." (3/36)

A listing of the skills taught in one teacher's class also indicates an emphasis on decoding and use of context:

10-7	oral reading -ound word family, homonyms, /th/, contractions
10-14	introduction: idea of context (as word recognition strategy) read two plays, one story, -ed ending, /th/ words
10-21	-s ending, -ing ending
10-28	the period (.), review -ed, -ing, write down all things you see in this room, one play, one story, silent reading, /c/-/ch/ beginning sound, /w/, /-ight/, /-ook/, /-air/, /-able/, vocabulary words
11-4	on periods review -ed, -s, -ing, blends, read parts of play with feeling
11-11	vocabulary words: supermarket, read, context--do cards with missing letter(s), read silently, then orally, review /ear/ /are/ /ad/ /w/ /f/, blending

The teaching stress on decoding beginning, medial, and ending parts of words and word patterns did not result in reported observation of related use. For the miscue analysis inventory, the category of graphic similarity was divided into similarity of beginning, medial, and ending parts of words.

Two frequent patterns in ABRs' reading behavior were observed in staff meetings: the tendency of ABRs to confuse blends (black:back;

back:black) and the use of successive attempts (black:by, b.a.g. /bla/, black). Because the confusion with blends was frequent, graphically similar initial parts of words were coded to indicate whether (1) the initial letters (blend) were correct, (2) the initial single letter were correct. Successive attempts were also recorded, and the number of successive attempts a student made was noted. Two categories were added to expand the information on use of graphic cues: similar adjacent letters (to focus on use of "word families"), and total number of similar letters (to assess use of graphic constraints).

Dialect: Field notes on class instruction and comments by staff required the reassessment of coding of dialect miscues.

For example, field notes frequently referred to differences between text and students' dialect:

> Walter made an interesting statement after he read a question and Mr. A asked, "What are you now thinking?" "I'm thinking about how that sounds. Now that I read it--it doesn't sound good to me." (OBS: I think he meant the language of the question he had just read.) (12/12)

In discussions of dialect, it was noted that ABRs frequently dropped the final s--e.g., read "two boy"--or had problems with words ending in /ed/, reading a word like jumped as jumpted. These miscues, however, did not interfere with students' gaining meaning from the text; in fact, the rendering of some words (as jumpted) seemed to indicate that students recognized that the language of text would differ from their oral dialect.

(For brevity, instead of preceding each miscue by saying, "The stimulus word was rendered," we shall present the stimulus word first, followed by a colon and miscue(s). Letters, when a word is spelled out, are underlined and followed by dots; phonemes are enclosed in slashes.)

Moreover, dialect per se does not seem to interfere with the reading process:

> In a dissertation, Melmed (1973) sought to investigate the relationship between Black dialect phonology and reading interference. He found that black students were unable to auditorily discriminate standard English word pairs as well as white students. Yet black and white subjects did not differ in silent or oral reading comprehension. And, contrary to other data, the non-white subjects spoke standard English 70 percent of the time. Melmed (1973, p. 81) concluded, "these third graders have had enough exposure to standard English in their everyday activity to aid them in recognition of the printed standard English word."
>
> In order to test the utility of dialect materials, Sims (1972) constructed passages in standard and non-standard forms. Ten second grade non-standard English speakers orally read one story from each form. Results were taped; responses that differed from the text were analyzed to detect qualitative and quantitative differences. No significant differences in the number and quality of the miscues were found. Furthermore, the miscues generated by language differences did not affect the meaning of the passages. (Amoroso, 1978, p. 5.)

While Goodman has varied the scoring of dialect miscues, Y. Goodman (1971) pointed out after an intensive analysis of dialect miscues that "both slow and average readers use similar dialect variations in amount and kind." Since use of dialect miscues did not discriminate between good and poor readers, this was not included in the ABR profile. That is, dialect renderings were not evaluated as miscues. If a student rendered with as wif, or He runs as He run, these miscues were coded in terms of the student's dialect; wif would be coded as positive use of beginning, medial, and ending cues, and He run would be coded as grammatically correct. In this way the category "syntactically acceptable cues" does not reflect relative use of dialect; it reflects the reader's ability to use known syntax in reading.

Successive Attempts: Field observations also suggested that students' successive attempts at a word revealed more about their relative use of cues, attitude, and confidence in a strategy than other data. For example,

> Al looked at the word break. He said, "/br/, b.r., bark, b.r., broke." He is obviously trying, and successfully, to deal with blends, and spelling facilitates this. He also may be using a meaningful association. (11/20)

Successive attempts also revealed students' ability to use known word parts, and perhaps a lack of a store of known (recognizable) comparable words or a willingness to prefer graphic similarity over meaningful approximations:

> Al read "independence: undecided, inde, indepen, inderably," then "speedway: sleys, sleep, sleep way." (11/20)

Because the sheer number of successive attempts seemed to indicate facility with the use of a given cue, successive attempts were noted and the number of successive attempts was coded.

As a result of field observations, four changes were considered, and three major changes in the Goodman and Burke inventory were made: (1) more graphic features were noted (number of similar letters, adjacent letters); (2) small units of graphic features (letter(s) at the beginning, middle, and end of words) were coded; and (3) numbers of successive attempts were coded.

Miscue Research: Related Adaptations

Research on miscues of CBRs was also considered to determine whether it would suggest clues to other aspects of ABRs' reading behavior. Studies of miscues have analyzed sentence length, place of error in the paragraph or part of speech (Bennett, 1936), nonresponses (Biemiller, 1970), proportion of similar and adjacent letters rendered (Weber, 1970), reversals, substitutions, omissions, and faulty vowels and consonants (Monroe, 1932), prior knowledge and place of error in passage (MacLean, 1972), and relative effectiveness of word recognition in list versus text (Goodman, 1965). The consideration of these categories is discussed below.

a. Syntactically Correct Phrase/Sentence Length

Brown (1970) noted that good first-grade readers studied by Weber tended to use contextually consistent miscues 68.2 percent of the time, versus 55.9 for poor readers. Brown was concerned that short sentences were used here, and questioned whether in long sentences this consistency would be maintained only within a phrase (p. 182). Since the sentences used here (11-15 words) tended to be longer than the sentences used in CBR studies, it seemed appropriate to consider also the syntax within the phrases versus syntax within the sentence. It also seemed important to consider this in relation to sentence length.

b. Place of Error

MacLean (1979) also stressed that place of error in passage should be considered. MacLean's point was that readers gained meaning as they read and that this should result in fewer miscues at the end of the passage. It seems that coding the section of the text where miscues occurred would provide a better picture of the ABRs' use of meaning, so this category was included.

c. Part of Speech

ABRs' tendency to use simple sentences in oral language interactions (Chapter IV) also suggested greater facility with nouns and verbs than with adverbs and adjectives. This conclusion was reinforced by observations of student behavior during one teacher's vocabulary lessons. The teacher would give a word, and students were to give all the words they associated with the word. When the stimulus word was a noun or verb, students would respond quickly. When it was an adjective or adverb, students had a great deal of trouble. Because reading is viewed here as a language-related process, it seemed appropriate to consider how relative ability to use parts of speech orally would affect relative ability to render print. Therefore, parts of speech were included.

d. Similar Letters and Adjacent Letters

Weber (1970), viewing graphic features of cues, estimated the proportion of similar and adjacent letters in the stimulus and response words. It would seem that estimating proportion of adjacent letters would be cumbersome without a computer. Also, use of proportion could be misleading because the greater use of adjacent letters in longer words would not be reflected. Thus, a simple count of number of adjacent letters was employed. This was consistent with an earlier decision based on class observations (see above).

e. Omissions, Substitutions, and Reversals

Certain types of miscues--number of omissions and substitutions --were not considered because analysis of these miscues' effect on syntax or meaning was already included under other categories.

f. Consonants, Vowels

Use of consonants and vowels was essentially covered by analyzing use of beginning (usually consonant), medial (usually vowel), and ending word parts.

g. Prior Knowledge

MacLean (1979) emphasized the importance of including an estimate of prior knowledge of key concepts. Because class texts and paragraphs developed for the Quick Inventory of Progress drew heavily upon everyday experiences, this did not emerge as a concern. In retrospect, it appears that analysis of prior knowledge of text structure and abstract concepts would have been appropriate. (See Chapter IV.)

h. Text Versus List

In an early study, Goodman (1965) had found that readers recognized more words in text than in isolation. This, Goodman suggested, reflected use of context. Thus, the miscue inventory was expanded to include coding of words recognized in text and not in list, and vice versa.

i. Nonresponses

The coding of nonresponses was initially considered, but there were few nonresponses in paragraphs when the student was reading material of appropriate difficulty, except in the case of one student whose nonresponses seemed to be a function of attitude. Most ABRs tended either to "plow on through" the material or to give up completely.

The final inventory included 15 subcategories. This meant that each miscue would be analyzed in terms of graphic similarity of beginning blend, beginning letter, medial vowel, and ending letter; syntactic acceptability within a sentence and within a phrase; semantic acceptability; correction; successive attempts; part of speech; number of similar letters; number of adjacent letters; place of error in the text; place of error in the sentence; and place of error in a phrase. Dialect miscues were not coded.

Summarizing Data

Goodman (1966) and Goodman and Burke (1971) have used several systems for summarizing data on miscues so that data can be presented in a meaningful reader profile. Goodman and Burke (1971) tally number of miscues for each category (cue) and then determine the percentage of cues within this category, which reflects high, partial, or non-use of this cue. Thus, if seven miscues are coded as graphically similar and five are considered as "high" in graphic similarity, Goodman and Burke record that 63 percent use of the graphically similar miscues represents a strength. This is done for each category. This system would seem to blur differences between relative use of cues, although it has the advantage of clarifying the effectiveness of using some cues.

Goodman (1969) had earlier developed a ten-point scale to rate each miscue; a higher rating was given if the miscue approximated the stimulus word to a greater degree. Unfortunately, the arithmetic means of the categories did not clarify the levels of error. For example, if the mean on graphic cues was 3.5, this could have meant a heavy use of a one-point miscue (zoom/boom) or of an eight-point miscue (batter/bitter). It would not be clear which type of miscue predominated.

Actually, any system is feasible if figures are considered in relation to actual miscues. Since the goal was to note the pattern of use of cues (which kinds of cues were used most often) and the effectiveness of the kinds of cues, a different approach was used here. The total number of miscues was tallied and the ratio of the number of times each type of cue was successfully used to the number of times all cues were successfully used was computed. Thus, 80 percent on "graphically similar beginning" means that of all miscues, 80 percent had a graphically similar initial letter. Overall use of cues, not relating use to misuse of each category of cues, is thus demonstrated.

Use of the 15 categories listed on p. 47 was further refined as final data analysis indicated each category's importance to ABRs' actual reading behaviors.

Comparative Data

This framework for analysis started with a psycholinguistic approach and was adapted where field observations or related research indicated that this would be helpful. The adaptation strengthened the graphic analysis of data and the opportunity to analyze integration of skills (with the analysis of successive attempts). What would seem to have been lost was the opportunity to compare these data with other miscue research. Maintaining a comparable data base was not a matter of concern for four reasons:

a. Existing work on oral reading behavior focuses upon children. The purpose of the study was to focus on the reading behavior of the ABR, and the standard miscue analysis inventory had not been developed with the adult in mind.

b. Miscue analysis is a developing framework for analyzing reader strategies and skills. Present miscue taxonomies are by no means completely validated frameworks. Moreover, Wixson (1979) has concluded that miscues (as currently defined) may not be "an accurate reflection of the reading process," suggesting that the analysis may not identify critical features of a reader's oral performance (pp. 170-171).

c. There is still considerable variability in the classification and coding of miscues. This is partly because the framework is evolving. The system of scoring miscues within the psycholinguistic framework has changed (Goodman, 1965, 1968, 1969; Goodman and Burke, 1971, 1973). In terms of rating acceptability of miscues, changes have also been made from procedures using percent of each type of miscue per hundred words, to percent within a category. Early miscue analysis studies with a focus on graphic and phonemic cues were criticized for providing a non-comparable data base, since they used "subjective classification of errors" and demonstrated little agreement on scoring (Hill, 1936). Current studies have been criticized for similar reasons: different scoring procedures, different definitions of terms, widely differing types of texts and tasks, and lack of reporting on reliability (Hood, 1976).

d. Studies of miscues lack appropriate controls. Factors recognized as influencing the types of miscues made--type of materials, use of prior silent-reading instruction and experience--are rarely controlled in available miscue-analysis research.

Essentially, these reasons point to the two factors influencing our willingness to adapt the miscue framework, although this would preclude comparing ABR and CBR learning-to-read behavior. First, there is no comparable data base; and second, so little is known about the reading process in ABRs or CBRs that any predetermined constraints upon the analysis of that process would be inappropriate.

Moreover, there was no compelling reason to collect comparable data when a statement by Weber in 1968 seemed still valid. Weber, after analyzing 30 studies of miscues, concluded: "Any attempt to compare the developmental findings of reading behavior through the early grades, specifically by types of errors, reported by various investigators proves unrewarding" (1968, p. 107).

In conclusion, the categories used in the analysis of oral reading behavior differ in definition, rating, and kind from those used in any other study, but are considered appropriate for the study of ABRs' oral reading behavior.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected over an eight-month period. Three different classes were observed, on the average, twice a week. In addition, various tutoring sessions were observed. Two classes met four times a week.

Reliability. The reliability of reading behavior observed in class, of the forms of the instrument used (QUIP), of student performance on these forms, and of observer rating of tested oral reading behavior was analyzed.

All oral reading during the last five months of observations was coded. Only one observer per session was feasible. Moreover, reading behavior in class and tutoring sessions was not taped; therefore, reliability of observation of reading behavior in these situations could only be estimated in terms of the consistency across classes of the reported ABRs' behavior and of factors influencing behavior. Because one teacher and one tutor submitted notes on their teaching, it was also possible to compare the teachers' notes and the observers' notes for consistency. While teacher notes were more cryptic, there was general agreement on what happened. Observers agreed that oral reading behavior observed during class was influenced by the amount of background knowledge provided (i.e., concepts in text), the relationship of pretaught skills to potential use of these skills in text, the amount of prior reading, and other context and personological variables. Also, observers agreed that opportunity to discuss reading behaviors and style of teacher prompting (i.e., teacher requesting that students "sound out the word," etc.) influenced the type of reading behaviors employed. The strongest relationship between class instruction and student miscues was the relationship between the amount of prior discussion and the use of semantic and syntactic relationships. That is, the ABRs made consistent--80 to 90 percent--use of these meaning cues (small/little; lady/women) when there had been prior discussion. To a lesser extent, prior reading also influenced the use of semantic and syntactic cues. When word-analysis lessons preceded oral reading, there was no noticeable increase in the use of these skills during oral reading unless the teacher prompted it. This may have been because opportunity to use the taught skill in the text was rare. These factors are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.

The QUIP was also used periodically to collect data. The Quick Inventory of Progress (QUIP) is an informal reading inventory developed to facilitate data gathering for this study. It consists of six forms, each containing five paragraphs and five word lists graded in difficulty. Word-list reliability among the forms was relatively high (.90-.95).

Reliability between paragraphs was not established. Each paragraph is preceded by a tester-read sentence which provides an overview of the passage. When the QUIP is administered, the student is asked to read the word lists aloud. The student continues reading until he or she makes seven successive errors. At this point, she or he is given a paragraph equal in difficulty to the last list read. Before reading the paragraph, students are also told that they will be asked to retell the paragraph. Initially, silent reading was requested, but almost all adults ignored this request. Adults were then simply asked to read aloud. After reading, the student retells the paragraph and brief questions (two of fact, two of inference) are asked. (See Appendix B.)

Students were given subsequent forms of the QUIP at intervals of six to eight weeks if their attendance permitted. All ABRs were cooperative when asked to take the QUIP; but their individual moods, physical conditions, and anxiety levels influenced behavior. Consider the field notes below:

> (OBS: Tom is in a horrible mood. He almost looks depressed.) I asked him to help me, and I gave the word lists and paragraphs. Tom was very cooperative. He read each of the lists. (OBS: He looked almost coldly into the air when he finished the lists.) (12/8)
>
> When I started working with Jake, he said his words were running together, fading in and out. I noticed he did not have his glasses. (OBS: I wonder how much not having his glasses affected his test scores.) (12/10)
>
> (OBS: Mavis was concerned about how she had done relative to the last testing. She obviously uses this test as a chance to judge her progress. Frances, after the last session, wanted to know if she was to be "promoted." This anxiety is hard to overcome, certainly influences behavior.) (3/81)

Adults were, for the most part, unused to long, intense periods of reading. Generally, class reading consisted of reading three to four lines. Thus, while QUIP passages were relatively brief (100-150 words), willingness to persist influenced results. If adults appeared discouraged, they were not asked to go on to a higher level simply to accommodate the researchers' need for a specific number of miscues. Continuous contact with the learning site and students meant that observers had to maintain as neutral and non-threatening a posture as possible. Asking adults to continue when they appeared tired or discouraged was avoided.

Paragraphs at five different levels of difficulty were used. Types of miscues made on different levels of test materials do vary. For example, Juel (1980) has pointed out that readers may use different strategies for long and short words.

Personological factors operating in the data-gathering context and the actual level of materials varied for each student; and these variations may have influenced observed reading behavior. Thus, comparisons across individuals or attempts to combine data from different individuals are made cautiously and with reservations.

The reliability of coding and of the final analysis of QUIP data was evaluated. Because audio tapes were available for coding data, there was almost perfect agreement on when a miscue occurred. When a disagreement occurred, it usually concerned whether what was heard was dialect or not. The judgment of one staff member with background in the local dialect was used in these cases. To determine interrater reliability, the staff members involved in coding analyzed a sample of three tapes. Almost perfect agreement was reached on most categories; the greatest discrepancy was on the rating of syntactically and semantically correct miscues. Because this reliability was relatively low, the staff member with prior extensive experience and training in coding reviewed all semantic and syntactic ratings. The final rating of this category, then, reflects one rater.

Validity. How valid are the data? That is, to what extent does the oral reading behavior observed reflect the actual covert processes adults use in learning to read? The answer to this question cannot be unequivocal.

Research by Juel and Homes (1981) does suggest that readers use the same cognitive processes when reading silently as when reading aloud. However, other researchers would certainly question this. The frequent difference observed between ABRs' overt processing and their final renderings (e.g., spelling but b.a.t., then rendering but), and differences between oral renderings and final retellings of passages (rendering horse as house, but retelling about a horse) suggest that there are some processes not captured or revealed by oral rendering. To the extent that data are interpreted as reflecting oral reading behavior, they are valid. To the extent that the researchers' reservations pointed out in this report are considered, the data are valid. As an initial analysis of reading behavior of ABRs within a given framework, the report is meant to be suggestive--not conclusive. The data are considered valid for this purpose.

The validity of the QUIP was established by using a corpus of words rated for meaningfulness (Dale and O'Rourke, 1976) and by correlating performance on the QUIP with performance on the Slossen Oral Reading Test (all forms correlated .90). No adult test or corpus of words was considered more appropriate when validity, reliability, and normative data (i.e., norm groups) were considered.

Interestingly enough, the relation between QUIP words ranked for meaningfulness and those used for the sight-recognition test (Slossen) was very strong for all subtests except the "Primer." This may have been because Slossen's source was also a corpus of meaningful words (i.e., basals), but his "Primer" list appears to be based on high-frequency words.

Class Oral Reading Behaviors

As noted earlier, oral reading behaviors in class were observed to shift in relation to the amount of prior reading or discussion of the text. For most ABRs, prior discussion resulted in more meaning miscues (beautiful/pretty; dashed/running); prior reading without discussion led to more graphic (not necessarily meaningful) miscues (cart/crate; while/when).

Field notes indicated that adults were sometimes more likely to recognize words in isolation than in text:

> Carl reads new words in Spelling 180 in isolation, but mixes them up when they are used in a sentence.
>
> The words introduced included license. Rick read this correctly on board and as permit in the text. This has occurred before--he tends to use either context or graphic features--not both. For example, weeks ago, after a lesson in /ound/--Rick read round, found, sound in a list, but in text read found as find. (3/26)

This behavior may have been a function of the materials ABRs were using. In almost all cases, ABRs read in class from materials that were difficult (i.e., they would miss from 25 to 50 percent of the words). The adults never seemed frustrated by this; in fact, as will be discussed later, they were concerned when materials were "too easy," i.e., where they would miss only 10 percent of the words. Another reason ABRs may have had more difficulty with presented words in text is that they did not gain meaning from the text. ABRs tended to be confused by referent words and flashbacks.

> Mavis read the story about the boy who lived with his aunt. The uncle had died, but was referred to in the story. Mavis, continually, as did Al, Horace, and Frances, confused the boy with the uncle.
>
> The story this week and last used flashbacks. None of the students, even Al who rarely has a comprehension problem, understood that the delayed letter had been sent 20 years earlier. (2/12)

Instruction in specific skills was not often reflected in students' miscues. Students were interested in rules, but did not pick up on them, as one tutor's description of a session indicates:

> I then moved to help Alice. Alice had read a passage and underlined all of the words she did not know. (OBS: I had told Alice week before last if she was reading a passage and did not know the words in it to underline the words and come and ask us about them. Alice has done just this.) Some of the words she had underlined were planning, spend, earn, inflation, such, cases, goals, emergencies, reached, expenses. We worked on each of these words. When we got to the word cases, Rick (came over from his seat) and became very interested in what I was doing. I started explaining to her this was the case of a few days ago. I asked her if she remembered the signal "e" we used before. She did not remember. I said the e signals the a to say its name. Rick chimed in with the short sound of a. (OBS: I think Rick likes the rules in reading. He is really interested in what I am doing.) (OBS: All of the memory jogging I did with Alice did not work. She still is having a problem. She just can't get the word.) (2/23)

Specific teaching of decoding skills did not influence miscues in class--perhaps because the number of opportunities to use the taught skill is limited in the passages used.

> The teacher reviewed /ow/ /ee/--there was one word with /ow/ in the passage, how, and one word where uses of this taught sound/symbol relationship would have been inappropriate, owner. Lonnie did not attempt to decode owner using /ow/. He said "only." (12/8)

Field notes also suggest that taught skills simply are not learned.

> The teacher was reviewing /eek/ and /ow/. Al tends to manipulate words; with cheek, he said, "check, treat, chop . . . ." He didn't use the eek ending; perhaps he didn't "HEAR IT."
>
> Even during phonics lesson, Al uses context--i.e. when Mr. A taught /ow/ asked for /ow/ words--for made a funny _____. Al said noise vs. sound.
>
> Mavis--when Mr. A tried to clarify the connection between the exercises and reading, Mavis made the connection. (OBS: The students understand these lessons are supposed to help, but they rely heavily on known cues (graphic/syntax) to follow the lesson. (12/8)

Moreover, the stress on initial oral reading means that students do not always have the opportunity to "apply" the taught skill (see Chapter IV), although occasionally a student will try, as Bea does below:

> Bea, after the lesson in /ea/, glanced at her new story. Mrs. B. asked her to read the story. She found on her own one word relating to the skill lesson. "So that's read," she said. Mrs. B said, "Yes," and went on to compliment Bea on sounding out the word. (11/18)

Types of miscues are influenced by peer behavior. Perhaps this is because peers are acting as models.

> The students were taking turns reading from the story. There was a chuckle when Max read life for live--he seemed disconcerted and

> asked if he could read it over and did carefully and correctly. (10/4)
>
> The teacher gave out new story. He gave some background, then said "follow along each word while I read--cause after you'll read, or parts of it."
> Mavis again tracked word by word with her pencil. Lonnie imitated Mavis for a while, then stopped. (2/12)
>
> Frances was reading. She made a few mistakes; but when she did, she would correct in a phrase. When Mavis started to read, Frances corrects her in phrases. Others would call out the word Mavis missed, sometimes in a phrase. When the correction was a word, Mavis would say the word; if a phrase, the phrase. After a few lines, Mavis started to correct herself in phrases. (12/8)

Because teachers frequently reviewed material, miscues observed in class were coded on initial and successive readings of the same text. Often the same miscues were made on successive readings--especially on names and on abstract and graphically similar words. There would be read as them, this, and that; when as while, where, white, and then. It seems that a student would come to such a word, recognize it as a word he or she did not know, and give any graphically similar word. For the most part, miscues observed in class were similar to miscues observed during testing--when prior class discussion was not involved. However, frequent rereadings of the same material and the limited amount of material read in class made summative analysis of miscues during class inappropriate. General descriptions of miscues made in class are considered here in relation to ABRs' reading behaviors on tests and to subsequent achievement. A fuller analysis of class reading behavior is provided in Chapter IV, where factors influencing learning to read are considered.

Oral Reading Behavior of ABRs: Overview

The oral reading behavior profiles of ABRs presented below use data gathered during periodic testing with the QUIP. This QUIP was used to provide three indicators of reading achievement: (1) number of words read correctly on the word list; (2) competence in reading a paragraph of a given level of difficulty, i.e., miscues; and (3) recall and comprehension of text. Biemiller (1970) used this approach. He ranked children according to the most difficult passages they could read. He correlated this ranking with children's reading in a similar set of passages and found a rank correlation of .95; this ranking had a correlation of .89 with the Standard Metropolitan Reading Test (p. 84). Thus, each ABR's achievement level was designated by noting the number of words (out of 100) rendered correctly and the last paragraph level he or she was able to render correctly with adequate comprehension. Perhaps it was because the paragraphs used words on the word list and all paragraphs used similar themes, but there was a strong relationship between level of achievement on lists and on paragraphs. Therefore, only word-list data are noted.

Since reading behavior was considered in relation to increasing achievement, some measure of adults' progress was needed. The QUIP does not use the term grade equivalent. Each form of this inventory does have five lists, with paragraphs paralleling the difficulty level of the lists. Each list is more difficult than the preceding ones. As a term denoting progress, step is used. Step One refers List and Paragraph One, and so on. It is assumed that by the time ABRs can successfully read at Step Five, they can work on pre-GED materials.

As discussed earlier, it is recognized that a variety of factors influenced the reading behaviors used. However, what reading strategies ABRs are using need not be specified solely in terms of an individual's idiosyncratic patterns. Certain cues were used or not used by most ABRs. Behaviors can be summarized under the categories of the revised miscue-analysis inventory. Yet even some of these adapted categories did not prove useful. Further revision of these 15 categories was undertaken, and the final profiles provided here include only eight categories for the word lists, and 10 for the paragraphs.

We have included only reading strategies found to vary to some degree among ABRs as they improved in general reading ability. The reason for including or excluding certain categories of cues is briefly explained below.

Graphic Similarity. Miscues on beginning, middle, and ending letters of a word were coded. Almost all ABRs would give a word with a similar initial letter (bat/bus; coffee/carry). The ability of an ABR to use a blend correctly (brake/bread) or at least avoid misrendering a blend (e.g., avoid brake/bar) tended to mark a higher level of achievement. Thus, ability to get the initial part of a word versus the initial letter was coded. Use of medial and ending graphic features varied with general level of achievement.

Syntactic Acceptability. Most (80-90 percent) of ABRs' miscues were acceptable in terms of prior syntax. Use of syntax varied for ABRs within all levels of achievement. Thus, syntactically acceptable scores--here to be more discriminating--represent ability to use prior and subsequent syntax. Use of syntax did not differ between the phrase and the sentence:

a word that was syntactically correct within a phrase was usually syntactically correct within a sentence. Thus, only use of syntax within a sentence is coded.

Semantic Acceptability. ABRs as a group did not, in testing situations, make many semantically acceptable miscues. Yet, because use of this cue indicates the level of the reader's meaning orientation, the category was retained.

Corrections and Successive Attempts. ABRs' use of corrections or successive attempts varied widely from session to session in both class and testing situations. This category was retained to clarify ABRs' attitudes and focus on graphophonic cues. That is, successive attempts rarely reflected integration of meaning cues. Corrections usually reflected use of syntactic cues.

Adjacent Letters/Number of Similar Letters. As shown in Table I (p. 63), use of adjacent letters seemed, as coded, to reflect an increasing tendency to read more difficult words, rather than a use of graphic cues. ABRs rarely used vowels, so adjacent letters rarely reflected use of taught phonograms. These data are included in groups, not in individual profiles.

Place of Error in Sentence or Text. Whatever the level of achievement, there was no pattern of errors increasing or decreasing at either beginning, middle, or end of text (or sentence or phrase). This may reflect the ABRs' tendency not to use semantic or meaning cues. ABRs at all levels usually made as many errors at the end of the text as at any other point. CBRs tend to make fewer errors at the end of text, which is said (MacLean, 1979) to indicate that they both gain and use meaning. Because there were no

TABLE 1

MISCUES OF FOURTEEN ABRS ON FORM I OF THE QUIP

	LIST						PARAGRAPH						
# WORDS	B1/B	M	E	LET	ADJ	S/C	B1/B	M	E	LET	ADJ	S/C	SYN/ SEM
90	70/75	44	47	5.0	3.9	2/0	90/90	44	44	4.0	1.5	0/1	57/37
72	80/80	40	40	4.1	3.0	15/3	90/90	50	40	5.9	4.0	0/1	55/17
64	87/92	42	22	3.5	2.1	8/0	70/70	40	46	3.1	1.6	0/2	71/37
50	85/85	56	56	3.4	1.7	0/1	61/61	61	61	3.8	1.7	0/3	50/29
47	100	73	13	4.0	2.5	6/0	73/80	65	38	3.8	2.4	0/0	59/23
40	79/100	90	26	4.4	2.5	16/6	69/73	51	21	3.2	2.2	2/5	50/45
23	63/63	30	23	2.7	1.0	0/0	100	13	55	2.7	1.1	0/5	70/39
22	71/86	23	36	3.0	1.5	0/0	80/80	30	30	2.1	1.1	0/0	30/12
17	40/46	55	65	3.5	1.8	11/3	50/50	25	41	2.0	1.0	0/0	60/55
17	80/90	50	50	2.7	1.1	4/2	50/50	60	37	2.3	1.3	0/3	65/50
*9	*	*	*	*	*	*	*56/56	39	17	*	*	*	23/17
8	50/65	40	15	2.6	1.3	1/4	68/70	20	.05	2.6	.6	0/4	35/20
8	65/90	25	30	2.7	1.1	0/0	73/80	46	14	2.4	1.6	1/3	73/33
8	60/70	30	60	2.6	1.0	4/0	25/30	42	16	1.7	.6	3/2	50/0

# WORDS: number of words rendered correctly
B1 : percentage of beginning letters or letter correct
B : percentage of beginning (single) letter correct
M : percentage of medial vowel correct (first syllable)
E : percentage of ending letter correct (first syllable)
LET : number of letters common to stimulus and rendered word
ADJ : number of adjacent pairs common to stimulus and rendered word
S : number of successive attempts
C : number of corrections
SYN : percentage of syntactically correct miscues
SEM : percentage of semantically correct miscues

(*) Too few miscues to code.

differences for ABRs in this pattern, it was not included in the profile, but it is discussed in connection with a general inhibiting behavior.

Part of Speech. There was no tendency for ABRs to make more miscues on any given part of speech, if words such as there, when, and which, or graphically similar/abstract words, are not included in this analysis. Thus, these data were not included in the final profile.

Text vs. List Miscues. Most ABRs did not recognize more words in text than in the lists. List and paragraph miscues for some words were similar. This again indicates the ABRs' tendency to use graphic or phonemic cues more than meaning cues. It may also suggest that the ABRs' short-term memory was at work; that is, they may have learned their original miscue. Further exploration of this carry-over phenomenon seems important. Adults have excellent short-term memories, and the potential for learning errors may suggest the importance of careful monitoring of reading during the beginning learning-to-read process. At most, some ABRs recognized three more words in a text than in a list.

Only 85 percent of the words on the list were in the paragraph, and there were 20 percent more words in the paragraph than in the list. However, since differences between recognition of words in lists and in text were minimal, this category was not included in the final profile.

Thus, the final group profile includes eight categories for analysis of word-list miscues and ten categories for analysis of text miscues. The final individual profiles include data on six categories for analysis of word-list behavior and eight categories for analysis of paragraph-reading behavior.

Oral Reading Profiles

The initial question asked is this: What reading behaviors/strategies are ABRs using? The question will be answered by presenting various reading profiles of ABRs and evaluating these profiles in light of the many factors influencing the behavior observed.

In view of the above lengthy cautions, it may also be asked at this point, "what information would such a profile provide?" The answer: the purpose of this analysis is to raise questions, not to answer questions. The profiles provide an opportunity to consider factors that inhibit or facilitate progress. Generalizations inevitably emerge, not so much in terms of profiles of reading behavior, but in the identification of common factors apparently influencing readers' progress or lack of progress.

The purpose of each profile below is also to provide as accurate as possible a picture of the individual's reading behavior. Brief background on each individual is presented. Because language is considered an important component of reading, a short evaluation of language behavior will be given. Also, reference will be made to reading strategies ABRs appear to use as a result of instruction, and to strategies that they apparently developed on their own.

These profiles were selected to provide information on ABRs at three overlapping stages of learning:

Initial Stage. This stage starts when few words are known (and even a simple passage cannot be echo read) and includes ABRs who can read a simple paragraph and recognize up to 25 words on the Quick Inventory of Progress (QUIP)--i.e., who are at Step One on the QUIP.

Intermediate Stage. At this point, ABRs can recognize 26-50 words on the QUIP and read with 70 percent comprehension passages corresponding to Lists Two and Three on the QUIP (i.e., Steps Two and Three).

Final Stage. At this point, ABRs can deal with multisyllable words or render correctly more than 50 words on the QUIP and render with 70 percent accuracy and comprehension paragraphs corresponding to Lists Four and Five of the QUIP (Steps Four and Five).

These stages are somewhat arbitrary; but since the factors identified as inhibiting reading tend to cluster within each stage, the stages will provide a useful descriptive framework. Because grade designation was to be avoided, some other means of indicating improved achievement was desired; the QUIP was used. Each form has a list of 100 words. The 100 words were divided into five lists (see Appendix A), and each successive list represents a higher level of word difficulty. Again, it is assumed that a reader who can read List Five and corresponding paragraphs can deal with pre-GED materials. Thus, each of the five lists is considered a step toward the pre-GED level.

Profiles of ABRs: Initial Stage

The reading behavior of three ABRs in the initial stage of reading will be considered here. These profiles were selected not only because they provided extensive information, but also because they reflected both the diversity of ABRs' reading behavior and the similarity of the problems generating this behavior. The reading behavior of other ABRs at the same stage of reading is considered in a final overview of each stage.

Mavis

Mavis is a mature woman who works on a housekeeping staff. The institution she works for allows her released time to attend adult educational classes. She attended regularly. She concentrated and worked hard during class. Her initial concern was learning to spell. She stated in December that if she could do this, she could read. Months later she spoke of the importance of breaking words into parts, and the importance of spelling emerged in a new light. Mavis pointed out that reading is important "because if you can read you can spell better." Like many ABRs, Mavis apparently wants to learn to read not only to get a better job, but so that she can send (not just receive) printed messages. In stories she created during class and testing sessions, her language was limited; she usually used brief sentences. But in her comments during classes on her own experiences, she often used complex and lengthy sentence patterns.

MAVIS' PROFILE*

	LIST					PARAGRAPH				
DATE	# WORDS CORRECT	B	M	E	S/C	B	M	E	S/C	SYN/ SEM
June	12	53/73	20	43	0/1	58/60	26	.09	0/2	58/50
March	10	48/58	36	16	7/4	40/45	40	.09	4.4	45/0
Feb.	11	50/65	40	15	4/1	68/70	20	.05	0/4	35/20
Dec.	6	50/59	33	59	0/0	33/55	22	.44	0/0	33/0

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* See Table I, p. 63, for an explanation of abbreviations.

As this profile indicates, in the December reading of paragraphs, Mavis made few syntactically correct (33 percent) and no semantically correct miscues but was obviously focusing on beginning and final letters. She tried to retell the story by using exact words from the story, even when the resulting phrases made little sense, saying: "Mother son. He is three. Help him play ball. Jump up and down." Her comprehension of the story in answers to questions was, however, accurate.

Her view of reading as "words" was also reflected in her early class reading behavior. When asked to answer a question, Mavis would scan the story for a word and answer with that word. Instruction from October to June included story discussions, word families, and some vocabulary-development activities. Peers in early months tended to correct one another during reading. By February, some of this practice is reflected in Mavis' reading behavior. She made several successive tries at words and corrected four times when reading the paragraph. The greatest difference was in the retelling. She retold the story in her own words. Her focus was less on word form than on the initial letter in reading lists (plant/place; barn/read), and on meaning in reading text. The problem in dealing with blends was revealed in the discrepancy between getting the beginning part of the word (blend or not) and getting the first letter. Mavis had trouble with blends. She tended to misread words starting with blends. When the initial part of the word was misread (space/place; flash/faze), it was usually because she made a single consonant a blend (pick/stick; boss/class) or vice versa. Mavis appeared to be aware of "word families," a taught skill. In February, she was trying to deal with blends, reading strong: "s.t., s.t.t. . . . ester"; blouse: "b. . . . b. . . . boom, bloom, blooming"; trunk: "til, til, t.t., tar." At this point, Mavis was also making more successive attempts in lists and paragraphs. Also, she concentrated less on word families, although instruction in this area continued. She showed attempts at more consistently using the vowel--reading, for example, plate: "p.l., pair, pair"; spill: "s.p.i., s.pi."

Mavis was tense during the final testing, and this may have accounted for the fact that she made few successive attempts and fewer corrections. She did use syntax (58 percent) more than at any previous time. Mavis' use of syntactically correct miscues here, as in class, tended to occur at the beginning of paragraphs; as material grew more difficult she made more non-meaningful miscues.

Mavis' progress is perhaps better shown by her use of syntax, improved fluency in reading the Step 1 passage, and successive attempts at words, than by the actual increase in the number of words read (from 6 on Form 1 in December to 12 on Form 4 in May).

In May as in December, Mavis often used known patterns or initial and final letters as constraints for the beginning and ending of a rendered word. While this seemed to be a greater problem initially, her continued use of this cue is clarified by a class comment.

> (OBS: When Mavis corrected the rendering (bottle/butter), she was asked, "How do you know it isn't butter?" She answered, "Because br is butter.") (3/81)

These constraints may be used because the first and last letters are the letters Mavis actually hears. Mavis may not hear medial vowels.

What facilitated progress? Her progress seems to have been facilitated by the greater emphasis on reading for meaning. Her response in class and during testing during May and June indicates that she was dealing more successfully with blends and was more visually aware of vowels. Using word families seemed to help for a while; then Mavis seemed to need to analyze smaller units of the word.

Her progress also seems due to her willingness and ability to make successive attempts at words. She did this more during testing, when she knew she would not receive help. In class, with help available (from peers and teacher), she often paused until help was given.

What inhibited progress? There is little evidence that Mavis continued to profit from the heavy emphasis on word families in class. She usually had trouble with these lessons. Dialect differences between teacher and student may account for this. For example, the field notes below indicate that Mavis did not hear /alt/.

> (OBS: Mr. A is doing a lesson on /alt/. As usual, he has written the pattern on the board and asks for similar words.
>
> Roy: fall
> Mark: salt like table salt
> Mr. A : That's close
> Frances: roll
> Walter: saw
> Mavis: like saw wood
> Roy: like someone see
> Mavis: doll (Mr. A starts new group). all
> Walter: old/all
> Frances: ball, call, mall
> Mavis: tall
> Mr. A : Now I know you got it.

This is not simply a matter of dialect, for Mavis has trouble with other word families.

> (OBS: After an initial lesson on word families, Mavis, when asked to spell pot, spells pat. Then spelled not "n.a.t.") (3/26)
>
> (OBS: Mavis had earlier, looking at aunt, said it had an h it would be hunt. But she can't say aunt.
>
> Mavis must write a sentence with aunt in it. She says she knows this word now, but is still working on "politics" and "family gatherings." Her sentence, I see at end of class, turns out: "My hunt it a oud lady.")

It appears that Mavis is only beginning to associate individual letters/sounds; she does not seem able to segment auditorily or blend word parts so that she can make greater use of known words.

Summary: Mavis' progress seems due to her concentrating on the initial letters of a word, to her improved understanding of what is involved in demonstrating understanding of a passage (i.e., not saying words), and to her instruction in blends and use of context. It would seem that further progress may be inhibited by her inability to "break up" or segment a word. Comprehension problems still arise when referent words are used. For example, when Mavis reads sentences such as "Joe is here. He is nice," she may respond that two people are involved: Joe and the "he" who is nice.

Beatrice

Bea attends the center, if not class, regularly. She constantly seeks support and reinforcement, both for attending and during actual reading. She attends class and is tutored regularly by a volunteer who stresses reading for pleasure, language experience stories, and a selfanalytic approach to word analysis. She is one of the few ABRs who will skip or refuse to attempt to decode new words. Her stories are brief and use simple sentences. For example:

> Nine boys went on a three-day hiking trip. They walked five miles. After they had walked one mile they stopped for 10 minutes. One boy drank four cups of water. He has three brothers. They all had wanted to go on the trip, but only two went. Six boys had sore feet for the next five days.

Her comments also reflect a consistent use of simple sentences, but the content is often sophisticated.

BEA'S PROFILE

		LIST				PARAGRAPH				
DATE	# WORDS CORRECT	B	M	E	S/C	B	M	E	S/C	SYN/ SEM
May	16	66/76	66	66	4/0	55	55	62	0/1	70/.05
Apr.	10	40/52	20	42		87	95	68	1/3	30/0
Mar.	10	80/10	17	34		50	30	14	0/0	50/0
Jan.	17	40/46	55	65		50	25	40	4/0	60/.05
Dec.	10	100	10	90		50	14	14	0/0	20/10

Bea, like Mavis, is at the initial stages of reading instruction. While initially both were alike in minimal use of syntactic cues and a focus on beginning and ending letters, there are few other similarities. Bea continued to use final letters, but increasingly used medial letters. In class, she monitored meaning much more closely than Mavis, but this was on a phrase or a sentence basis, not a story basis. Unlike Mavis, she could segment sounds in a word.

Bea's comprehension is spotty. Her reluctance to answer seems to reflect more her attitude than her understanding. Even when Bea can answer all questions, she seldom will completely retell a story. This may be because instead of linking story events to one another, she relates them to herself, and thus her digressions preoccupy her.

In January, she tended to give the initial letter/sound relationships (park: /p/, /pa/, park). She could also manipulate the vowel (donkey: downkey; d.o.n. donkey), but did so rarely. Her focus was on consonants. Consider her attempt to figure this word:

> "Listen: t.n. ten if you put it together, is ten, how do I get the l in, what kind of sound of I make l, little."

Bea did best on the word recognition task in January. This may have been a result of making successive attempts and balancing use of all word parts. However, in January she did not read even the Step One paragraph fluently. She missed almost every fifth word. She continually repeated a phrase and asked, "Is this right?" almost as if the language in the paragraph did not ring true.

Bea did not evidence the problem with blends that other ABRs at initial stages of instruction have evidenced. She seems to use vowels and known word parts, but not consistently. Her tutor had stressed blends and modeled decoding. To gain information on her instruction, Bea's tutor was interviewed:

> It appeared that Bea's class reading behavior was consistent

> with one-to-one and testing behavior.
>
> The tutor feels Bea's comprehension is great; for example, she is doing well in the Specific Skills Series: Drawing Conclusions. (OBS: The tutor spoke of Bea's failure syndrome--her feeling that "she can't" interferes with what she will do/try to achieve on a test.) (3/5)
>
> This is confirmed by observer's notes. Bea received a great deal of reinforcement: The tutor points to Bea's success, saying, "The more you write, it gets easier." Bea counters--"I still can't spell; I still haven't got noplace--I never will--I'm a slow learner, that what the teachers at school say."
>
> Bea seems insecure, frequently asking and answering her own questions. Bea asks what do you call movies when they are spooky and all--then answers herself--"horror movies."

The early instruction of Bea stressed decoding and context, as observers' notes on her reading behavior indicate.

(10/23/80) breaking up words
state can't "sound out"

(10/30/80) Pattern: she asks, "Is this right?" after skimming and identifying words not known
Read second time with intonation

(11/6/80) Pattern: "Is this right?" continues; verbalizes the strategy she is using--i.e., break-up word
Identifies her own difficulty: "I can't put the two words together."
Reads aloud first for decoding and reads with intonation the second time
Uses two strategies:
  a) skip the unknown word
  b) sound out (parts of) the word

(11/13/80) a) skips the word
b) breaks it up
c) blending sounds
d) skims sentence, first asks, "Is this right?"
  This leads to two reactions:
  1) frustration and says distracting comments or says does not want to read;

2) continues with self-confidence after testing teacher belief that Bea can read it.
e) transfers immediately from review of word family to reading word in paragraph
f) reads first time for decoding, second time for meaning.

(11/20/80) Using 3 main strategies:
a) "Is this right?"
b) sounding out words
c) skipping words-context cues

Bea, however, without prompting in the testing situations, uses one main cue: graphic similarity.

What facilitated success? In March, Bea made no successive attempts and appeared, again, to be concentrating on initial letters. She read the Step One paragraph fairly fluently--again, miscues were corrected with preceding, but not with subsequent, text. In April, Bea continued to refuse many words and did not make any successive attempts. On the paragraph, she did make corrections; but this seemed based more on graphic than on syntactic cues. Her general comprehension of the story was poor. In May, Bea was making successive attempts, again using more syntactic information and very little semantic information. Her progress is demonstrated in her fluent rendering of a Step One paragraph. She also seemed to be using syllables; rendering (sickness: sickley, sick, ness, sicky; popcorn: pop, popcorn; window: winda, window).

Bea seemed to succeed when she tried; she still refused words in text which she can decode. She seemed to have a sense of segmenting and blending words but is unsure of her own skill. When she tried and made a balanced use of word parts and syntax, she did well. Her instructors focused on generating confidence. Bea profited from instruction and tried hard during tutoring, if not during class sessions, as indicated in the field notes below:

> (OBS: Intensity of Bea is demonstrated by her heavy breathing, even swearing during the reading. There is little doubt that she is trying hard. Sometimes she cues herself, i.e., when reading: "Would you believe I would not do it again"--read would "wood"--the tutor says "would." Bea tries to reread, then says, "Oh, I missed the point, would he." I believe she was hearing "wood," i.e., visualizing wood, so not able to process meaning until she goes to context.)
>
> Bea is cryptic, but responds appropriately with single words. After a play was read, she couldn't get any meaning (as the tutor explained) because she was focusing upon words.
>
> The tutor asks which is best way to decide on what the word is. Bea, "see if it fit in the story or something." The tutor reinforces at end of session.
>
> (OBS: Subsequent context is read and she tries to use it, but can't effectively.)

What inhibited success? What seems to be inhibiting Bea is her apparent lack of confidence, evidenced by her reluctance to try to use the meaning of text (even when her own stories are reread) and her suspicion of the reading process (in looking at a compound word, she asked whether the two words had been put together "to trick her," 9/80). In May, she continued to approach new words as if they were problems created for her. Her tutoring instruction included many dialogues on the reading process. This was done, perhaps, to help Bea overcome her suspicion of this process by helping her to see rules that were involved. One positive result was Bea's ability to identify what she needed to know. One negative result was that Bea's dialogue emphasized word recognition and meaning was increasingly lost. Bea was satisfied if her rendering sounded syntactically correct and had some graphically similar features; she rarely monitored semantic cues. These dialogues on the reading process, since they often occurred during reading of text, may not have encouraged Bea to focus on meaning.

Summary: Bea, an ABR at the initial stages of instruction, has many of the abilities Mavis lacks; but she renders passages no better than Mavis and often comprehends less. She can segment word parts and blend word parts, and these skills seem to have been developed by the teacher's modeling of this behavior and by instruction in syllabication. She can do what Mavis cannot, use known words. She looked at hid, pointed to did, and said, "That's did, this is hid." Her reluctance to make successive attempts may inhibit her ability to practice using her known skills. Her refusal or inability to monitor the meaning of text seems to inhibit learning most. She does not even use this skill when her own language experience stories are reread.

Jim

Jim is also an ABR at the initial stage of instruction. He reads slightly better than Mavis and Bea, but he attends erratically. He has studied auto mechanics and continues to take classes at a trade school while attending the center. He indicated at one point that he had to attend the center as a condition of parole. His dictated stories consist of simple sentences. Transition words in speech and stories are rare. It appears that he tries to incorporate new words into his speech, as indicated in the field notes below:

> Unsolicited after Ms. R reads introduction to "Cemetary Path," Jim says, "What do I fear about the dark? Somebody coming up behind me and sticking a knife in my back."
>
> Ms. R says, "Close your books. We won't use them for awhile." Jim responds, "Good, I'm tired of using my imagination. I imaginate I'm here everyday." (11/16)

Jim read word by word early on and started correcting phrases when this was modeled by the teacher; neither the modeling nor the tendency to correct in phrases continued. The only times Jim made syntactically and semantically acceptable miscues in class (e.g., I can touch it/I can feel it) were when the word was introduced prior to reading. He apparently associated the meaning of the word during the introduction but does not use text to cue word meaning either in class (as noted below) or in new reading situations (i.e., tests).

> (OBS: Jim seems to be very careless in his reading. He understands the context of the material he reads, but will not take the time to figure out the words he needs to know to read the passage correctly. Jim made the following miscues in his reading:
>
> bring for brought
> list for touch
> showled for scolded
> near for noticed
> leading for listen
> need for never
> the for this
>
> These miscues represent consistent use neither of syntactic nor of semantic cues.) (3/19)

Class instruction included an emphasis on decoding (and related rules), vocabulary, and comprehension of material after material is read. Jim does try to use syntactic cues when he is reading easy material.

As evidenced by number of words read correctly and level of difficulty of paragraph read fluently with comprehension, Jim is progressing slowly. He went from recognizing 17 words in December and fluently reading a Step One paragraph to 25 words in June, but this progress seems more related to the relative effort made during testing than to actual improvement in ability.

JIM'S PROFILE

	LIST					PARAGRAPH				
DATE	# WORDS CORRECT	B	M	E	S/C	B	M	E	S/C	SYN/ SEM
June	25	75/75	40	48	10/2	66/92	16	60	0/0	60/32
May	18	45/100	55	45	0/0	78/84	14	33	0/0	42/38
Mar.	17	55/98	22	28	8/0	65/68	15	40	0/0	48/40
Jan.	22	71/86	23	36	7/0	80/90	30	30	0/0	30/12
Dec.	17	63/83	26	42	2/1	100	16	66	0/0	100/50

Jim seemed to use graphic and syntactic cues and not semantic (reading dark horse as "duck house," could ride as "couldn't read"). Yet when he retold the story, he told about the dark horse. He may have self-corrected sub-vocally or, as with other ABRs (or any adults), there may not have been the direct relation between what he said and what he was thinking. Why this occurs is uncertain, but it is not uncommon--perhaps because for ABRs such as Jim reading and thinking are different, or saying words and thinking about text are still not integrated.

Like Mavis, Jim seemed to try to use the initial letter of a word and another consonant as word constraints--rendering barn: brown eyes,

/br/, /er/, brown; comfort: /car/, careful, camful. Apparently major consonants were used to identify words (trail/teller; donkey/duck; space/special). Medial vowels were rarely used in text. While the miscue profile indicated little syntax was used, actually Jim also made fewer miscues in easier paragraphs where his comprehension was excellent; therefore, this may indicate that he was using syntactic cues more successfully when he felt more confident. In March, his successive attempts showed that he was trying to deal with, or at least manipulate, the vowel (softball: skinball, superbowl; forty: fort, fort, foyer; blouse: boy, but; drape: /d/, dearp). This had been preceded by more teacher instruction in decoding skills. In May, seven of Jim's eleven miscues on the list indicate that he was using similar vowels (bingo/begone; wipe/why; seed/seem; boom/bloom). This was in a more balanced use of beginning, middle, and ending parts of the word. This pattern does not exist when Jim is reading the paragraph; here more emphasis was given to initial letter and syntax. By June, it was clear that Jim was sacrificing graphic cues to syntax, he showed greater willingness to try multisyllable words, and he tried harder.

What facilitated progress? Overall, Jim's modest progress seems to be due to greater willingness to make successive attempts to deal with vowels. His ability to segment and blend word parts was shown in January when he read comfort: car, careful, camful; but at this point the focus was not on meaning or manipulating vowels, nor was it on word meaning. In June, he rendered independence: indecided, inde, indepen, induably--showing increased use of medial vowels, syllables, and perhaps greater commitment to using these cues.

What inhibited progress? Several factors would seem to hinder further progress. When passages became progressively more difficult, Jim did not attempt more difficult words. As stories became longer, he tended to lose, not gain, meaning, and subsequently used syntax less, and especially fewer semantically acceptable cues.

His comprehension of stories read and discussed in class was often excellent; at other times the pattern of behavior noted below in excerpts from field notes emerged:

> (11/13) Jim seems to have trouble following a line of thought; he leads issues into violence and sex.
>
> (11/20) He started to explain a story to another student--it was verbatim what an instructor had given earlier:
> - Jim interacts with material, i.e., personalizes
> - Sometimes he'll pick up a point in a story and go off into his own situation
>
> (2/1) Still good at details; still goes off in his own direction
>
> (5/5) Still reacts to the material personally as he reads it

Several observers speculated that Jim's tendency to personalize may have been due to the desire to have someone prompting him or paying attention to him.

Summary: Jim is attempting to use taught decoding skills. He is not evaluating meaning as he reads, perhaps because new words are usually introduced prior to reading and stress is usually on decoding these words, not on predicting or judging meaning from context. His tendency to personalize meaning could initially facilitate comprehension, but this personalization is for Jim both an initial and a final step.

All the ABRs discussed here differed in skills and needs to some extent. All read somewhat differently in class, depending on the amount of prior reading: the more prior reading, the more use of semantic/syntactic cues. All had trouble with graphically similar abstract words (e.g., when, there, this), but had less trouble with these words when they were not in proximity to each other and when meaning was stressed. (All ABRs personalized meaning. While this personalization is an immediate problem for Jim, it may become more of a problem than it now is for Mavis and Bea as they try to improve basic word recognition skills by using context.) Other ABRs at initial stages of instruction also differ. Ted skips small words frequently, perhaps to focus on decoding longer words. June often renders meaningless strings of words but corrects when reminded that this is meaningless. ABRs at initial stages stress graphic cues, use initial letters, make some use of syntax, and make very little use of semantic cues. Most do not integrate skills (i.e., use both graphic and meaning cues). Like Jim, they show facility with graphic cues in lists, then use only initial letters and syntax in rendering text.

No factor noted here as either facilitating or inhibiting progress can be related to lack of ability. Mavis has a problem segmenting parts of words; but Maxine, who is less verbal and is reading at a lower level, can do this. This difference seems to result from instruction. Maxine's teacher systematically models segmenting and blending for Maxine and requests that she model this for the teacher. Bea, who can segment and blend, does so rarely--perhaps because, while her instructor takes her through this step by step, Bea is not asked independently to demonstrate this skill. All

ABRs demonstrate the ability to use syntactic and semantic cues in class when reading is preceded by discussion of concepts in text.

Profiles of ABRs: Intermediate Stage

Below are the profiles of the two ABRs who can render and comprehend Step Two and Three lists and passages accurately, or who may be considered to be at the intermediate stage of learning to read. In word recognition strategies and abilities, they differ from ABRs in the initial stage.

Brad

Brad is in his twenties. He is boisterous, outgoing, and very interested in learning to read. He reports that he did not speak at all until a few years ago; it is hard for him to stop talking now. His language and reasoning can appear very sophisticated initially, but he becomes anxious when a comment requires a departure from his practiced dialogue (or tirade, as some peers consider it). When a departure is required, the reasoning breaks down. He does, however, use lengthy and idiomatic language in retelling text.

BRAD'S PROFILE

		LIST				PARAGRAPH				
DATE	# WORDS CORRECT	B	M	E	S/C	B	M	E	S/C	SYN/ SEM
May	41	90/97	68	20	14/5	60/63	41	23	0/0	43/22
Jan.	40	79/100	90	26	16/6	69/73	51	21	2/5	50/45

Brad, while he rarely uses nonstandard English in speech, tends to use it in reading. Specifically, he does not plurals (e.g., reads "heard some footstep" or "the bird were"). This may be because many of his peers speak nonstandard English, and this pattern is the oral rendering he is exposed to.

Brad tends to repeat frequently and in phrases as he makes corrections so that his rendering will be syntactically correct. Yet, he tolerates major breakdown in meaning, rendering "a flood ruined it" as "a floor running," or "if I feel a little sickness" as "if I feed a little sick." On the list he makes frequent successive attempts, showing an ability to manipulate vowel sounds (space: /sp/, /sp/, /sp/, spat, spar, spa, spar; checkbook: /ch/, chak, /ch/, checkbook). He also can use word parts (syllables), as shown in the following successive attempts (disobey: dis-o-body, disbody, disbody, d.i. would be disbey-disobey). He spells out words incorrectly, but this seems to help him recognize patterns (misprint: m.i.n. would be mis, misprint).

While Brad can decode a word in lists when reading text, he tends to use word patterns (comfort: formation; arithmetic: attention; went: want; quietly: quickly). This does not interfere with his general comprehension. Brad's instruction from January to May focused on comprehension, vocabulary, and decoding rules. He himself focused on learning to spell words.

In May, when reading words in isolation, he continued to make successive attempts (14); a third of these attempts resulted in the correct rendering of words. Correction was usually possible when a compound word was involved. He was, however, able to read a higher-level paragraph (Step Three) as well as he had previously read an easier paragraph. The difference was that on this higher-level paragraph, his miscues reflected little use of semantic or syntactic cues. However, he was apparently gaining meaning; for in the last three lines of the passage, he made only one miscue.

On the word list, he had less trouble with blends but had more trouble with multisyllable words and common suffixes, rendering *upsetting*: upset, upsetsion, upsetsion; *independency*: in ten, pen, indepension, in pension.

Factors Influencing Success/Failure: His class discussions focused on general concepts discussed in stories, and Brad does well on this. In a general way, he can retell a story. During the May test, his lack of self-correction in text and apparent lack of use of semantic and syntactic cues, which was shown on passages as easy as Steps One and Two, interfered with ability to recall specific details. Brad's word list and text miscues are often on simple words (lemon/lumber; lid/limb; kid/kick; hip/lip). He is still, despite other skills, using general word patterns. He does not monitor meaning when reading text or words in a list. Thus, nonwords occasionally appear (*livestock*: livesutter, livestory). Perhaps this reflects Brad's own confidence in his ability to call words or his ability to reconstruct general meaning. His decoding skills have not improved since January, not even his word recognition skills. He continually reads difficult (equivalent to Steps Four and Five) material in class, focuses on word form with his spelling, and settles for general meaning. Right now Brad's self-instructional strategies include spelling out words he wants to learn. This has not been productive. His misuse of semantic cues differs from peers at the same stage; vocabulary words are not usually involved in Brad's miscues, i.e., he will miss simple, familiar words.

June

June is a tall, thin woman. She is very talkative, and one staff member stated that she had been referred by a treatment center and was considered mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed. When asked to tell a story, she had to be prompted. For example, her story about an accident:

> "My hair caught on fire." (How did your hair catch fire? Can you tell me more?) "I was smoking a cigarette and my lighter went up. I had the lighter close to my ear and it caught and carried to my hair and my whole head was in flames." (Can you tell me anything more?) "And they told me I looked like a Christmas tree all lit up."

Her profile is interesting because, while meaning can be tied very closely with word recognition ability, in June's case it is not. She can render most words accurately, but does not appear to understand the meaning of these words. In class, she retells few parts of a story, and only the parts she can relate to herself. When questioned on other parts of the story, she may give an unrelated answer. She tends to use reading as a springboard for self-reflection. She said in an interview, "When I read, I like to think," and apparently what she is thinking about is herself and her problem.

JUNE'S PROFILE

		LIST				PARAGRAPH				
DATE	# WORDS CORRECT	B	M	E	S/C	B	M	E	S/C	SYN/ SEM
May	86	73/93	60	46	7/3	61/61	61	49	0/0	30/2.2
Mar.	77	70/92	35	64	9/4	57/75	14	56	0/1	57/0
Jan.	50	85/85	56	56	0/1	61	61	61	0/3	50/29

In January, given a simple Step Two story, June retold it completely and answered questions accurately after a fluent rendering. The few errors she did make were not semantically correct, but this did not interfere with her general comprehension. By March, June did much better, perhaps because she tried harder, making more successive attempts, again generally getting the beginning letter and occationally manipulating the vowel, rendering beggar: big.ger, beggar; rhubarb: /ra/, /ra/, reehab. There is, as with most ABRs, no evidence that she knows the sound/symbol association for vowels, simply that she can try different patterns. In March, she tried a Step Four paragraph and read this fairly fluently, using two non-words (calmness/climbness; attachment/apness). Most other miscues were on small words (it/he). This same pattern continued in May; and although the profile suggests she was using syntax less, these were miscues on small words (in/of). There was little difference in May in June's use of graphic cues in text and in the list. As the low use of semantic/syntactic cues suggests, she is not using meaning. June consistently demonstrated her ability to call words effectively in class.

Factors Influencing Success/Failure: It would seem that June does better when she makes successive attempts and attends to meaning. One factor detracting from more extensive use of context cues may be lack of vocabulary. Her miscues indicate problems with common suffixes (-ment, -y, -er), yet she gets many words with these suffixes correct. Her gain in ability to call words seems to relate to her extensive practice in reading (which is usually preceded with instruction in word recognition, not in vocabulary).

She operates differently in class and testing situations. She tends to comprehend more in the test situation, but she is an effective word caller in both situations. Comprehension and rules for decoding have been stressed in class, but June does not appear to use the latter. Her successive attempts are not related to use of rules but rather to use of familiar patterns, e.g., her miscues (explosion: explorsion, extorsion; preventable: preventing table, providing table).

Other ABRs at the intermediate stage of learning to read seem to have developed skill in using syllables in decoding. This facility varies. Some, like Brad, tend to continue to make a range of errors on single- and multisyllable words. Some, like June, have more trouble with multisyllable words. Problems related to vocabulary vary; Brad and June are as likely to misread in text a simple (lady/locket) word as a difficult word. Perhaps, to some extent, they feel as does Roger, who feels that reading is saying words. Roger, another ABR at the intermediate stage, seeks neither to personalize nor to generalize material. He pointed out that he "could say the words, and could read." Some ABRs, such as Carl, rarely make errors on simple words. Carl tries to read for meaning, repeating phrases silently to himself before reading aloud, and monitoring by self-correcting meaning. However, to most ABRs at this stage, meaning is made secondary to rendering graphically similar words. Since decoding is stressed in initial stages, it would not be unusual for ABRs at the intermediate stage who have some skill in decoding to feel that this is their task. At the same time, they feel that because they have mastered this task, they have mastered reading. Many ABRs stop at this point, dropping out of the program. Brad is thinking of doing this, stating that he has nearly learned what he needs.

Profiles of ABRs: Final Stage

ABRs in the final stage of learning to read seem to differ from ABRs at the intermediate stage in one major way: they are aware that they do or do not understand the text.

Frances

Frances is an articulate woman with a son in college. She attended somewhat irregularly until placed with a group working on more difficult material; now she attends regularly. When asked, she can develop a well-structured story, which she ends with a reflection on the theme of the story.

FRANCES' PROFILE

		LIST					PARAGRAPH					
DATE	# WORDS CORRECT	B	M	E	LET	ADJ	B	M	E	LET	ADJ	SYN/ SEM
May	83	30	24	30	3.5	2.7	90/90	16	50	2.0	3.0	50/23
Mar.	72	80	40	40	4.1	3.0	90/90	50	40	5.9	4.0	55/17

In March, she read 72 of the 100 words correctly on the QUIP; in May, 83. Her miscues in March included nonsense words (chuckle/chucklee; calmness/shameness). Her successive attempts indicated her use of word parts (revenge: re-ven, reven; lecture: lec, /le/, lashun). She tended to make the same miscues in the list as in the passage, suggesting that she was not making greater use of meaning. Her comprehension and retelling ability was generally excellent, and she made use of transition words (instead of, so, but, because).

Class instruction for Frances was initially not geared to her needs, since it was on word families, initial consonants, and vocabulary words already familiar to her. When she was moved to a higher group, instruction was on vocabulary and on rules for decoding and reading for comprehension. In May, her successive attempts included more attempts at second and third syllables (furnace: ferm, furnance; satisfactory: satisfication). Her comprehension and rendering of Step Three passages were excellent; at Steps Four and Five, while she made few miscues, her comprehension was low and reflected her reading a great deal of personal meaning into the passage.

Factors Influencing Success/Failure: Frances seems to have made progress since she was exposed to more difficult material and a model of decoding multisyllable words. She has difficulty restating or comprehending more difficult passages, in some cases because she personalizes material. Her need for vocabulary is not as evident as her need to see things from another point of view.

Al

Al is about 40 and neat in appearance. He is serious, poised, and hard-working in class. He adds depth to most discussions but does not monopolize conversations. He has an interesting habit of prefacing statements by saying, "I'm just speculating now . . . ." His speculations generally demonstrate his insight into people. His language and vocabulary differ from that used by his peers. He tends to use complex sentences and multisyllable words.

Al read 64 words correctly on the QUIP list in January, reading the Step Four paragraph fairly smoothly. He was able to answer questions concerning the paragraph. In May, he made fewer successive attempts, but read more words accurately, also reading paragraphs whether Step Three, Four, or Five with about 12 percent miscues. In May, Al tended consistently to get the first syllables correct; he had trouble with second syllables (whistle: whiskey, whisper). Although figures indicate use of syntax apparently decreased (71 to 66) and use of semantic cues decreased (37 to 33), these declines were due to errors on small words (for/more; silly/still), and meaning was not lost. Al actually appeared to be making ever-greater use of meaning cues. The fact that Al got many more words correct in the passage than in the list (more so in May than in January) also suggests that he made ever-greater use of context.

AL'S PROFILE

		LIST				PARAGRAPH					
DATE	# WORDS CORRECT	B	M	E	S/C	B	M	E	LET	S/C	SYN/ SEM
May	72	98/100	72	30	5/0	40	20	13	1.6	2/5	66/33
Jan.	64	87/92	42	22	8/0	70	40	46	3.1	0.2	71/37

Factors Influencing Success/Failure: Al was moved up to another class because his language, comprehension, and word attack skills were above his originally assigned group. His teacher was concerned about his repetitions and hesitations during oral reading, but this may have resulted from oral reading at sight and Al's need to be accurate. His use of syntactic/semantic cues is not accurately reflected in the percentages in his profile because of uncorrected errors on small words which disrupted syntax of text but did not disrupt the meaning for Al. Al is receiving instruction in vocabulary and comprehension and is apparently profiting from this help. He still needs instruction in dealing with common syllables, prefixes, and suffixes.

Al seems to be making progress because of his increasing tendency to self-correct and monitor meaning as he reads. He can use syntactic and semantic cues effectively. He tends to miss medial and final syllables, and especially has a problem with suffixes. This may result from language (he does not use adverbs extensively) and the lack of instruction/exposure.

Al and Frances, and other ABRs in the final stage of learning to read, may be more alike than peers in other stages. Yet differences exist, and these are important. For example, some ABRs using greater syntactic/semantic cues can, with an apparently lower word-recognition level, read texts more accurately and with more understanding than students with higher word-recognition levels. A focus meaning, whether vocabulary or general comprehension, is needed. In retelling stories, both Al and Frances tried to substitute synonyms for words misread in text, showing that they can gain meaning. Al, in class, frequently used words that the teacher used in discussion, carefully enunciating these: "As you said, the man felt des.pair." This may suggest that learning for both is inhibited by not having varied language models or varied reading experience.

ABRs at the final stage of the beginning learning-to-read process had more in common in terms of need for vocabulary development, exposure to a wider range of concepts, and focus on suffixes.

Summary of Factors Influencing Success/Failure

All ABRs, except one, if judged either by increased accuracy in list or paragraph word recognition or comprehension, made some progress. Most progress was accompanied by some changes in reading behavior. However, as expected, no increase or change in any one behavior/skill was concomitant to all progress. It appears that as long as adults are changing or adding to their strategies, some improvement occurs. Also, it should be noted that the progress made, in terms of the QUIP used, was generally limited to one step. Only June moved more than one step, and this was only as measured by the word-recognition check.

To some extent, limited progress was expected because progress was measured over the second semester (December to June) of the students' school year. Progress that ABRs usually experience in starting a reading program often results from the reviving of past learning. Thus, ABRs' learning, just like school children's learning, tends to appear to be greater during the first semester. Class reading strategies used during the first and second semesters varied greatly, depending upon instruction and prior introduction of text; therefore, class miscues were not used to establish reading strategies or progress.

There were some similarities in the reading behavior of all ABRs, whether they were at the initial, the middle, or the final stage of learning to read. Few miscues occurred at the beginnings of sentences. Miscues were scattered throughout the beginning, middle, and end of passages for all. This points up the fact that initial words in passages were frequently familiar (he, I, yes, the) and that ABRs tended to lose, not gain, meaning as they read.

One strategy either developed alone or by imitating peers--correcting in phrases--seemed to facilitate progress, largely because it reflected and perhaps encouraged attending to meaning.

Most ABRs also, at least occasionally, used the spelling out of a word to orient their word-recognition attempts. Most students did use repetition of words or phrases, but not frequently. ABRs tended, in the words of one staff member, to "plow on through," calling words. Thus, in paragraphs during testing, very few omissions occurred. ABRs at all ability levels tended to come up with substitutions when they expected no help.

In class, where help was to be expected, there were more pauses as ABRs waited for the word to be pronounced. In class, also, there were more omissions when the focus was on word calling. For all ABRs, successive attempts in a passage only occasionally resulted in a search for a syntactically correct alternative. That is, a syntactically correct alternative was given either initially or on the correction as the student searched for graphic or phonemic cues. Successive attempts rarely, if ever, resulted in a search for a semantically correct alternative. ABRs did not read for meaning. The tendency to ignore general semantic/syntactic cues is indicated in the phrases below:

TEXT	RESPONSE
his plant where he put	his paint with the put
had not done this	had no home this
I like you would drown	like you were down
At the party they made a fire	At the party the making
help him play ball	help his player ball
I hate to let you down	I have to lay you down
pick up the bat	set up in bed
under some dust	number so but
At the party they made a fire	It was plain with fun
they also had	they someone had to
He used a stick	He under a stick
It had been a good day	It has better a good time

In some cases the reconstructed text shows remarkable language facility as the ABR, using initial consonants of words in the text, manages to create a graphically similar, syntactically correct phrase:

TEXT	RESPONSE
they made a fire	they met at five
I am rich and own	I am reaching over
My father died when	My father did want
just thankful for	just think more

The same individuals can render either an uncorrected meaningless string or a meaningful, graphically similar phrase.

TEXT	RESPONSE
this is what happened	then I what hoping
I knew I might be	I know I must be
you will not tempt fate	you would not teep fat

Phrases cannot indicate a greater problem; that is, miscues show no attendance to total story meaning. The ABR uses either graphic or syntactic constraints.

An examination of individual ABRs' progress and concomitant changes in reading behavior does suggest some facilitating behaviors. Some of the changes in reading behavior that occurred with greater achievement included strategies apparently used to match the known with the unknown. For example, ABRs making progress would:

1. Identify what they knew (did: that's /id/, like in hid).
2. Make successive attempts. These may actually be successive attempts

at picking out the known (winter: /w/, /wi/, t.e.r., winter).

3. Manipulate the vowel (hide: /ho/, here, /hi/, hide).
4. Segment the word into syllables or known parts.
5. Monitor meaning, not settle for a meaningless word in isolation (lip: lipe, lip)
6. Focus more on meaning than on graphic features (He had a big hand: hike, face).
7. Monitor so that the word would make sense in context (It was hot since it was summer: it was seemed, it was, sum, summer).
8. Correct in phrases, avoiding word focus.

Two factors emerge from an examination of facilitating factors: 1) a focus on meaning and 2) repeated attempts.

It is clear that some ABRs see the main task of learning to read as decoding or saying words.

> (Bill had some interesting comments--after class reading was asked what story was about and answered, "I don't know, I was trying so hard to read.") (10/4)

Such comments were noted repeatedly. The reason why some ABRs focus on decoding is obvious: this is what they are taught; this is how new words are introduced. Yet at times ABRs do press for meaning. At one point, Jim said, "How can you sound it out if it doesn't make sense?"

The reasons why adults use these facilitating strategies may vary: some are the result of teacher or peer modeled behavior; some strategies simply result from the ABRs' own views of reading. In some cases, they are using taught skills. Yet students' tendency to manipulate the vowel seems to be a self-taught strategy. Few ABRs really know vowel sound/symbol associations. This idea of trying many until one rings right seems to be a very helpful strategy. If there is a sequence or evolving set of strategies for ABRs as they gain in reading skills, it appears to be erratic. ABRs tend to retain strategies used in initial stages of learning to read (e.g., spelling), and used these even when they were achieving at a higher level and apparently had more effective strategies. Yet some strategies, to some extent, can be associated with increasingly higher levels of achievement. No ABR, not even those who read QUIP Step Five words and passages fluently, used one strategy. Certain reading strategies tended to signal success. For example, when an ABR in beginning stages of learning to read switched from using general word patterns (bat/but; butter/better) to using an initial letter, this was concomitant with greater achievement on the QUIP. The reason for the switch is hard to identify. Perhaps the ABR has a store of enough words to realize more information is needed to identify a word than the general pattern. Because these pattern words are highly similar (catch/batch), it is strange that moving to more dissimilar words (catch/could) would be considered progress. It is, however, a strategy associated with higher-achieving ABRs and associated with progress of individual ABRs. Just as general perceptual behavior with pictures, for example, improves as more details are noted, so reading tended to improve as ABRs observed smaller (not larger) visual components.

Another step associated with progress was a de-emphasis on the use of major consonants as word boundaries. When cues like care/car or bold/bad disappeared in favor of cues like care/crate or bold/body, progress followed.

Apparently this behavior signals that the ABR is no longer using only first and last letters of words to cue identification. At this point, some ABRs start to use vowels (stick: sti, sti), but not effectively. When ABRs start to pick up on vowel patterns (bloom/balloon; should/blouse), progress again is indicated. This tends to appear at the same time the ability to manipulate vowels occurs. That is, the ABR will experiment with different vowel sounds, rendering boat: bat, bot, bowl. This is followed by some systematic use of word parts (fingernail: finarcher, finakument) and ability to separate parts of words (fat.ten). Unfortunately, this is often accompanied by an inability to retain for use prestated parts (unexplained: unplain, explain). When ABRs deal with all syllables (explosion: explorsion, extortion) and overcome problems with suffixes (socialist/sociallylist) old problems, as with blends, may reappear. However, for ABRs with a strong vocabulary, this does not occur. It would seem that as ABRs manipulate or make successive attempts at a multisyllable word, word recognition is successfully cued by meaning recognition. These stages of word recognition strategies seem (with enough exceptions to make us cautious) to evolve as ABRs improve.

The stages discussed above are outlined in Table II (p. 100) to clarify strategies which facilitated ABRs' progress. Not listed is the integration of cues because for ABRs studied here it often appears that what is inhibiting further progress is the successful integration of meaning and graphic/phonemic cues. An examination of the profiles in Table I suggests that often one cue system is simply subjugated to another. However, it is clear that ABRs in the final stages of learning to read are,

TABLE 2

READING STRATEGIES OF ABRS

	READING STRATEGY	RENDERED	STIMULUS WORD
1.	initial sound/symbol association	/c/-/c/-/c/	crane
2.	word pattern	cane	
3.	prominent consonants	car	
4.	segment sounds	/cra/, /ane/, /cra/, crane	
5.	maintain blend	c.r.a., cra., crash	
6.	manipulate vowel	crisk, /cru/, crash	
7.	vowel pattern	grower	flower
8.	initial syllable	cus, cus, cuser, custard	customer
9.	multisyllable	cus.tom/cuser	
10.	manipulate syllables	custima-customer	
11.	suffixes	democracy/is	democratic
12.	use of context	a democratic society	a democratic socie society

interestingly enough, not as bound to using adjacent letters in text as cues as they are in lists. This again may reflect uses attending to medial vowels; or the switch in strategy may suggest that ABRs are ready to, or are starting to, become more flexible in use of graphic cues; and while the summary data in Table I (p. 63) do not indicate it, they may be using meaning cues more. Thus, when ABRs begin to manipulate syllables, meaning cues play a lesser role. Moreover, at all levels of achievement, the ABR apparently retains heavy use of graphic cues.

This hierarchy in Table II is suggested to facilitate a description of the pattern of reading behaviors of ABRs. Some organization of descriptions of ABRs' reading behavior is needed to guide identification of factors potentially inhibiting or facilitating a structure beyond. This organization was not provided by the miscue profile used. Factors signaling growth in reading ability for ABRs seem to be functions of factors not included in a miscue profile, i.e., successive attempts, integrating skills, manipulating vowel sounds.

A true hierarchy would assume similarity between the reading behaviors of ABRs as they progressed through the learning-to-read process. There were only some general similarities. There are three other major reasons why the terms pattern and hierarchy are used with caution. The first and foremost reason is that students involved in this study constituted a limited and nonrandom sample. There were great differences in years of prior schooling, motivation, prior ABE instruction, educational goals, and abilities among ABRs (see Chapter V). The second reason for caution is that initial use of theoretical constructs was avoided and final use is tentative. One cannot verify the existence of a pattern by gathering supporting details from an empirically based analysis of reading behavior. The third reason for avoiding the verification of patterns is that research indicates that this may not be possible. Reading behavior is highly variable within age and ability groups. Attempts have been made to explore developmental changes in the reading behavior of the CBR, and some developmental changes seem to exist. For example, for CBRs it seems that the use of repetitions, nonresponses and refusals decreased from grade 2 to grade 12, and that mispronunciations increased. Biemiller (1970) found a similar nonresponse pattern when he studied two classes of first-grade CBRs over an eight-month period. He suggested that there were three phases of development: 1) predominant use of context, 2) predominant use of nonresponses and graphic constraints, and 3) a concurrent use of graphic and contextual cues. Monroe (1932) found behavior highly variable when analyzing the reading behavior of underachieving readers at all age levels. This may be because Monroe analyzed miscues in broad categories, i.e., number of omissions, substitutions, repetitions. However, Weber (1970), going beyond a graphic/phonemic analysis of miscues, still found little difference between good and poor CBRs' use of context. She did note that good readers tended to correct only when a miscue distorted context.

K. Goodman and Burke (1973), in a study of readers from low grade 2 to high grade 10, also found that "less proficient readers" used the same reading behaviors as highly proficient readers. They suggested that less proficient readers tried to use more cues than needed, used these cues less well, and lost more meaning. No hierarchy was found. They concluded in relation to reading behaviors (use of cues): "There does not appear, on the basis of our research, to be anything like a straight-line relationship on any measurable dimensions (of miscues) as readers gain proficiency."

Yet miscue-analysis inventories on a limited population have provided productive insights into reading behavior, if one goes beyond examining and reporting percentage of each type of cue. This is suggested by an early study by Y. Goodman (1971), who analyzed the miscues of four children during their second and third years of instruction. Goodman suggested that there were developmental trends for many of the strategies, especially for the slow reader.

However, if for the most part researchers evaluating the learning-to-read behavior of CBRs are reluctant to suggest a pattern, given the diversity of ABRs, caution must be used in suggesting that a pattern can be validated. Yet there is evidence, if there is not a pattern of success for ABRs; there may be certain common aspects of success and certain common aspects of failure.

The diverse backgrounds of the ABRs were expected to, and did, reveal themselves in the diversity of miscues. CBRs seemed to have less diverse responses. For example, Bennett (1978) analyzed the miscues of underachieving CBRs. When reading word lists and sentences, her students were reported to have made miscues on 237 different words. However, Bennett found that 155 of these words elicited the same response. Children tended to render similar misreadings. Bennett was amazed at the uniformity with which "a stimulus word called forth the same erroneous response on the part of many pupils." She suggested that this was because of children's common exposure to words in basals.

ABRs showed no similar tendency to make such uniform misreadings. This may have been due to the lack of common reading, instructional background or the established individual learning set or response pattern of each adult. Weber (1970) had found that the source of most errors for CBRs was other words learned. Adults have potentially a more diverse store of known words, because of their greater diversity of schooling and experience. Thus, while the majority of Bennett's readers would render saw as was, the ABRs showed diversity in rendering saw as was, all, say, said, or sent. Over 75 percent of words misread by more than three ABRs here resulted in diverse renderings. There was not even a strong pattern of misreading the same words among ABRs; that is, diversity existed in both which words ABRs misread and how they were misread.

These arguments for caution in considering a hierarchy of cues are also arguments for extending the analysis beyond consideration of the type of cue used. It appears that many misreadings are conditioned and do not reflect an active use of any available cues.

Thus, the hierarchy may have heuristic value, but in no way can it obviate the fact of ABRs' having distinctive individual patterns of reading behavior.

Essentially, this chart of evolving use of cues helps to suggest a basis for understanding how the ABR is learning to read. The ABRs' apparent heavy use of graphic cues and the facilitating effect of their successive attempts fits an existing model of the learning-to-read process: Cunningham's theory of mediated word identification. Considering ABRs' reading behavior within this model helps in understanding what the ABR was having trouble doing (segmenting phonemes and manipulating word segments, finding semantic matches) and what the ABRs were succeeding in doing (segmenting syllables, manipulating syllables). Cunningham (1975-76) synthesized the reading models of Venezky-Calfee, Gibson, and Smith. She pointed out that each of these theories suggested that when readers met an unknown word, they would: 1) compare/contrast it with known words; 2) if the whole word was not recognized, break the unknown word into manageable units; 3) compare/contrast these units; 4) recombine the units to match existing acoustical or semantic categories; 5) transfer this information to text; and finally 6) generate their own compare/contrast rules when meeting a new word next time, since there would be a broader base of information. The reading behavior of ABRs, their own comments, and successive attempts suggest that this is an appropriate theoretical framework for considering their learning-to-read behavior.

There are two important differences between the Cunningham model and the observed behavior of ABRs: 1) the ABRs' compare/contrast strategies emphasized the use of graphic cues, and 2) ABRs recombined units not so much to fit semantic categories but to fit graphically acceptable, and sometimes syntactically acceptable, categories.

Because readers are moving more successfully through the steps in the compare/contrast model, a hierarchy of potentially better miscues is hypothesized in Table II. These better miscues tend to be associated with greater progress as observed in this study, and are thus also a potential aid to use in seeking guidelines for instruction; that is, perhaps teachers should explore teaching these facilitating behaviors. Again, most of the students involved in this study had been involved at some point in decoding programs. Also, many students had been exposed to some form of instruction, using the development of their own stories and a form of round robin reading with some prior vocabulary instruction. This would influence use of miscues.

Inhibiting Behavior

An analysis of ABRs' reading behavior in relation to the Cunningham model resulted in identifying specific behaviors related to ABRs' ability to segment and manipulate word parts and use matching categories to facilitate word recognition. Five problem areas in this compare/contrast process were identified. These are discussed below; as each problem or inhibiting factor is considered, implications for instruction are explored. The five problem areas can also be identified in terms of typical miscues. These miscues are used to exemplify problems the ABR is having in moving on to better miscues, or specifically problems the ABR is having in comparing/contrasting known and unknown units. For example,

a. ABRs would note that one word "looked like" the stimulus word, but could not use this knowledge to identify the new word. (trade: /gra/ . . . if it was a g it would be grade--I don't know)

b. An adult would make a successive, more accurate attempt at a word, but be seemingly inflexible in switching to the better approximation (ship: part, park, s.t.i.p., part).

c. The adult would not persist nor switch strategies to persist (engineer: eng, eng).

d. Adults would stop at a meaningless word (chuckle: choke, chuckley).

e. Adults fail to monitor context (Tim is five, he is a nice boy: man).

Each inhibiting factor can be related to a facilitating factor. Thus, behaviors a.-c. seem to concern lack of persistence, and behaviors d. and e. indicate lack of attention to meaning. This, in fact, may be the case; but an examination of why ABRs use these inhibiting behaviors reveals specific problems in learning to read, and thus specific guidelines for instruction. Thus, for each inhibiting factor listed, an analysis of the reason for the behavior and potential instructional strategies are suggested.

Inability to use known words: Most teachers and tutors stressed a sound/symbol approach. While the reading profiles discussed here stressed use of graphic cues, this was because graphic matching seemed to be what students were actually doing, not what it might have been most helpful to do. Consider the ABR who knows a word similar to the stimulus word (i.e., knows grade but not trade), "knows" /tr/, but cannot use this information. Perhaps he or she cannot segment the word grade to blend the appropriate segments into the new word. There are several reasons for believing that this is the problem.

Despite instruction in word families, it is obvious that many ABRs do not hear or discriminate vowel sounds or phonograms even when they are taught. Nor does explaining rules help. This is indicated by excerpts from lessons on word families.

> The sound ace was given. Jim was given a number of sounds to put with ace. Here are the words Jim made:
> face
> lace
> pace
> sace (he said this was not a word when I asked)
> brace
> place
> space
>
> The next sound Jim was given was ame. We talked about the sound of the a and the e. We talked about the silence of the e and the sound of the a. The words Jim made:

> fame
> lame
> same
> tame
> shame
>
> When Jim tried to read the word shame, he read the word scram. I showed him the word scram on the paper. I pointed out the difference in the two words. When Jim read the word a second time, he read the word sham.

This suggests that students see, but do not hear--i.e., they do not auditorily separate or segment phonemes. Lessons frequently have the teacher modeling segmenting. However, students exposed to this can, but do not, segment. It is often not clear to the students that they can do this. Thus, the modeled skill, while helpful in learning, is not apparently helpful in encouraging use of that skill. Often, too, the teachers are working so hard that they are doing the work that the student needs to do and should be doing. For example, consider these field notes on Mrs. P., who is giving dictation:

> Mrs. P, "Bea, sweep the house."
> Bea writes: Bea sea
> Mrs. P: sweep (sounds out /w/ and sounds out /ee/)
> Bea writes: sw
> swee
> sweep
> Mrs. P said each word, waited for Bea to write it, and then went to the next word.
> Mrs. P said, "Rick needs."
> Bea wrote: need
> Mrs. P said, "needs."
> Bea wrote: needs

The teacher is segmenting the word; the student is not.

The above lessons and miscues generated suggest that the student who can, for example, read bike and not like may well: 1) be unable to identify the /-ike/ pattern, i.e., be using (bk) as clue to bike; 2) be unable to segment/hear the /ike/ phonogram; 3) be able to segment /ike/, but unable to blend /l/ and /ike/; 4) tend to pronounce bike and like differently, so that when /o/ and /ike from like are blended, the result does not sound like a meaningful word; and 5) be reluctant to manipulate the sounds until a correct word is achieved. This suggests that four steps of teaching are needed when teaching a phoneme or a phonogram:

1. The student spells out the letters of the phoneme/phonogram.
2. The student (not the teacher) segments the word so that the phoneme/phonogram is isolated.
3. The student blends the phoneme/phonogram with other visually and auditorially presented symbols/sounds.
4. The student restates the newly blended word until it sounds right and uses it in a sentence.

Lack of flexibility: Consider the ABR who renders ship: park, park, s.t.i.p., part. The misspelling in the sample miscue above is not a concern here. ABRs often orally misspell a word, but apparently are cueing themselves correctly (listen: l.i.n., lis; bet: b.o./bet). What the ABR is saying and what she or he is thinking are not always the same thing. The point that is gleaned from adults' spelling is that they always render a consonant for a consonant, a vowel for a vowel; and since they seem not to know vowel sound/symbol associations, any vowel will do. The problem is not in the misspelling. The problem is the lack of flexibility in switching responses in relation to the stimulus word. Also, the problem is that the ABR is using as a cue prominent letters; for example, in rendering ship: park, park, s.t.i.p., part; here the prominent letter is p, noted for park, then p t given in part. The graphic cues in the word are used. The association for p is used and the ABR is having trouble changing this association. Flexibility may be achieved by using different strategies, i.e., systematically decoding each word segment as it is uncovered, or it may be achieved by involving the ABR in exercises requiring flexibility: generating multiple associations for a word or reorganizing graphic cues (as in the popular game, "How many words can you make from Thanksgiving?"). To promote flexibility in relation to the stimulus word, some type of checking back to the original stimulus to generate new alternatives would be needed. A variation of games of concentration where appropriate association, not similar stimulus, is used as matched pairs might be possible. Consider word games where the initial and final words are given, but letter changes are required. For example, the adult must start with meat and end with same, but change one letter (and generate a real word) in each step toward this goal (e.g., meat, seat, seam, tame, same). The idea is to have the adults respond with some flexibility to the same graphic stimulus at the same time as they are reorganizing that stimulus and dealing with this reorganization. This would be less of a problem in text if the ABR were reading for meaning. If the problem has been correctly identified (as lack of flexibility in changing associations in response to the stimulus), training in flexibility may be the appropriate solution.

Lack of persistence: In the miscue where the students render engineer:

/eng/ /eng/ but do not persist, there may be not only lack of persistence in a task but also lack of flexibility in switching strategies in completing a task. It must be stressed that ABR teachers do an outstanding job of helping students to persist in the reading task, not in the use of some strategies. One teacher, for example, consistently said "uh-huh" after each word as the student read. This seemed to keep the student going; moreover, the student picked this up and often used it to reinforce herself as she read. The reason why many ABRs "plow on through" their reading seems to be that ABR teachers encourage this; and also, adults tend to want to get on with the task, as the field notes below indicate.

> Bea reads: "I look so darn damn made because I don't like to be in jail on my birthday. On my birthday, I like to be at home" (she omits "celebrating").
> Mrs. P : "Are you stuck on this word? Skip the word and go on."
> Bea says: "A part/y got my/self"
> Mrs. P : "Are you going back to that word?" (referring to celebrating)
>
> Bea ignores the question and continues: "What makes me so mad is my girlfriend knows what day my birthday is on. I like to be at home with her on my birthday."
> Mrs. P : "Let's go back to this word," and reads, "On my birthday I like to be at home."
> Bea: "Celebrating "
> Mrs. P : "There are different ways to figure out a word."
> Bea: "I thought about separating it."

Bea was using one strategy (decoding); Mrs. P was unable to switch her to a second (context). Persistence seems also to be promoted by teachers or tutors breaking down or repeating tasks so that students learn to persist, as these field notes indicate:

> During class this morning, Mrs. K assigned each of the students

> a passage. The students were to read the stories from a book until they felt they could read them well. They were to ask about words they did not know. I took Jim out of the room to read his story. We did the exercises and read the story. Jim read the story to me. He made numerous mistakes. I gave him the words he did not know. We read the passage six times. I read the passage to him three times. He read it to me three times. We alternated the reading between us. (1/24)

In these instances, students are very active, working hard repeating and rereading words. However, when a student comes to a word and partially or incorrectly decodes the word, almost all teachers become very active. They may instinctively know that the student cannot see which part of a word to deal with, or they may be eager to model the process the student might use. For example, the field notes below indicate that the teacher is guiding a student's decoding:

> (OBS: Next Mrs. B helps the students immensely. She gives them help in everything they do. During spelling she will give them every chance. She will repeat words many times. She will give them the word in a sentence. She will tell them how many letters are in the word or how many letters they have left out.) (1/13)

In the notes below, the teacher is actively guiding the decoding of "bottle, dawn, and goose":

> The teacher said: use dot
> use bot, which rhymes with dot
> add t
> add tle
>
> The teacher said: dawn
> use caw
> use the initial consonant sound in down
>
> The teacher said: goose
> use boo
> use goo se

(OBS: Here the teacher is modeling the strategy of associating known and unknown. The student can follow the teacher, but may not be learning to lead to herself.) (1/21)

When Al missed the word (for example, appreciate), the teacher would consistently cover the word and uncover each part, telling Al to "say" each part as it was uncovered. (10/12)

Students persist in following the teacher, but do not seem to persist in developing or using a given strategy in switching strategies. There may be a need to promote students' use of and flexibility in using strategies. As noted below, the teacher's discussion of strategy may not help.

Mrs. P : "That's right, or skip the word and go on."
Bea: "How can you learn? Memorize all the words?"
Mrs. P : "No, don't memorize the word. You say sounds." She demonstrates by writing s/igh/t. "Don't worry about rushing through, you just need practice."

(OBS: Mrs. P seems to stress the teaching of reading strategies and making the adult conscious that this is a strategy to unlock words and meaning from print.)

While Mrs. P is discussing a strategy and has Bea doing this, Bea is further from using context clues because of this discussion. Perhaps students should be asked what they need to do or know to decode unknown words. Discussion of strategy and modeling of strategy may help, but perhaps this should not be attempted during rendering of text (see Chapter IV). However, teachers might, after modeling one or two steps, as above, ask the student to do the next step or part of it (e.g., uncover part of the word). The goal would be to encourage the student to persist, not just on the task, but in using strategies, and without teacher prompting.

Failure to monitor meaning: Another major factor apparently inhibiting progress is the ABR's tendency to render meaningless words and not correct them. While the vocabulary in the ABR's text may not be more difficult than that found in elementary-school texts, the vocabulary does, apparently, differ from that in the ABR's environment. Since many ABRs left school early, they have not acquired the broader vocabulary gained from frequent exposure to print. They may be accustomed to hearing words that they do not understand, and some ABRs may have developed the habit of not attempting to deal with these new words. They may expect to encounter nonsense words, and so accept a nonsense rendering calmly. Vocabulary development appears to be needed.

ABR teachers are meeting this need to attend to meaning by reading to students, introducing vocabulary, and even expanding the circle of ABRs' experiences. Care is taken to explain new words when they are encountered, and visual or concrete referents are used to reinforce learning. This would seem the most effective approach. Stress might be further placed on the traditional skill of determining word meaning from context, and more stress might be placed on identifying and then determining the meaning of and finally using new words heard in the environment.

Failure to monitor context: ABRs' failure to gain meaning from reading or to demand that reading make sense in the total context of the story seems to inhibit learning to read from reading. Subsequent context is rarely used by ABRs to correct earlier miscues. The list of phrases noted earlier reflects the facility with which students can stress graphic over meaning cues. Other responses show a fine sense of language or syntax, but it is rare for a miscue to reflect the fact that a given word should make sense because of the content or concepts in the text; that is, ABRs rarely use semantic cues.

Sometimes this may be because ABRs see the decoding and meaning process as being separate steps:

> Bill said, "I first try to figure it out (decode?), then I read it."

Yet, some ABRs do put meaning first, as in Jim's comment noted earlier: "How can you sound it out if it doesn't make sense?" However, even for Jim, the first step is often viewed as visual, perhaps because initial introduction of words stressed decoding, or perhaps because dealing with the graphic cue is more demanding.

The issue is how to promote reading for meaning. Field notes consistently revealed that when a prediscussion of a story occurred, adults made far fewer miscues and more semantically and syntactically correct miscues. Because ABRs tend to read for meaning, and thus use semantic cues more, when initial class discussion does focus upon meaning, it is clear that one approach to promoting reading for meaning would be to encourage prediscussion or independent prethinking on the students' part. Other meaning approaches which might be used by students when reading alone need to be explored. Certainly the consistent tendency of almost all ABRs to personalize rather than generalize about material needs to be addressed. Boraks (1981) has outlined some strategies for dealing with this.

The four inhibiting factors and instructional implications noted above represent an initial analysis of problems and potential solutions.

Research Needs

The purpose of the above description of the reading behaviors of ABRs and the related analysis of facilitating and inhibiting reading strategies is to provide some guidance for the instruction of ABRs. In discussing related instruction that might help ABRs use facilitating strategies and overcome inhibiting strategies, the goal was to clarify how analysis of ABRs' reading behavior could provide helpful guidelines for instruction.

While none of the strategies suggested requires any radical departure from traditional instructional practices, the suggestions are speculative. The intent is to determine the effect of these and other instructional strategies on subsequent reading behavior in future studies.

The analysis of the reading behaviors of ABRs suggests that research is needed in other areas.

The Abstract Phoneme

There is little doubt that the phoneme presents discrimination, segmentation, blending, and even conceptual problems to the ABR. More research into the difficulties that the phoneme presents when instruction is based on decoding is needed. Rozin, Pritsky, and Stotsky (1971) suggest that children have difficulty with the phoneme because of its abstract nature, and suggest that the syllable be the unit used in teaching beginning reading. Friere (1970) used the syllable successfully with

Spanish-speaking ABRs, although the syllable as a unit seems more appropriate to that language. Moreover, this (the syllable) was a minor aspect of Friere's social-consciousness approach. Yet, even in this report, tentative analysis within limited teaching settings suggests that ABRs resolve many learning-to-read problems (segmenting and blending) when they learn to deal with syllables. Research into the use of the syllable as the initial unit in teaching ABRs seems feasible.

Teacher Reinforcement

Teacher reinforcement seems to play a powerful role in student behavior. The writers also plan to explore the possibility that teachers who are tuned into the changing reading strategies of ABRs and who encourage specific strategies might be able to facilitate progress more than if strategies were ignored. Caution should be exercised here, but judicious praise for potentially effective attempts at words, especially if reinforcement encourages flexibility, may help the student to progress. Some strategies may be potentially counterproductive for some ABRs, so caution is needed.

ABRs' Unique Strategies

ABRs frequently turned to spelling out a word to guide their decoding. The effect of this strategy on subsequent achievement is not clear. Initially it appeared to be counterproductive, since ABRs were misspelling words. However, other ABRs seemed to be using this strategy to organize visual intake. Because most ABRs adopt this strategy to learn words and retain the strategy, more research into the reasons for this and the impact of this strategy would be helpful.

Spelling was often used in successive attempts at words.

Great insight into ABRs' reading strategies was provided by other successive renderings of words. Successive renderings were, for most ABRs, successive graphic/phonemic attempts, and occasionally attempts at more syntactically acceptable renderings. However, an in-depth analysis of these successive attempts has not been attempted here, and much might be learned about ABRs' organizational compare/contrast strategies from such an analysis.

Summary

This chapter described the development of a framework for evaluating the reading strategies of ABRs. Using an adapted form of the Goodman and Burke miscue inventory, the investigators described in detail the reading behaviors of seven ABRs, and related them to other ABRs at similar stages of learning. These behaviors were further analyzed to provide insight into productive and counterproductive strategies. Related implications for instruction and research were presented.

IV. Factors Influencing the Acquisition of ABRs' Reading Strategies

The description of oral reading strategies of ABRs clarified to some extent behaviors facilitating or inhibiting the learning-to-read process. However, designating these behaviors is only the first step in developing effective instructional guidelines for ABRs. Factors influencing the acquisition of these strategies must also be considered. This chapter will present a discussion of factors in the learning-to-read situation which appeared to have impact upon ABRs' acquisition of strategies. Related instructional implications will also be considered.

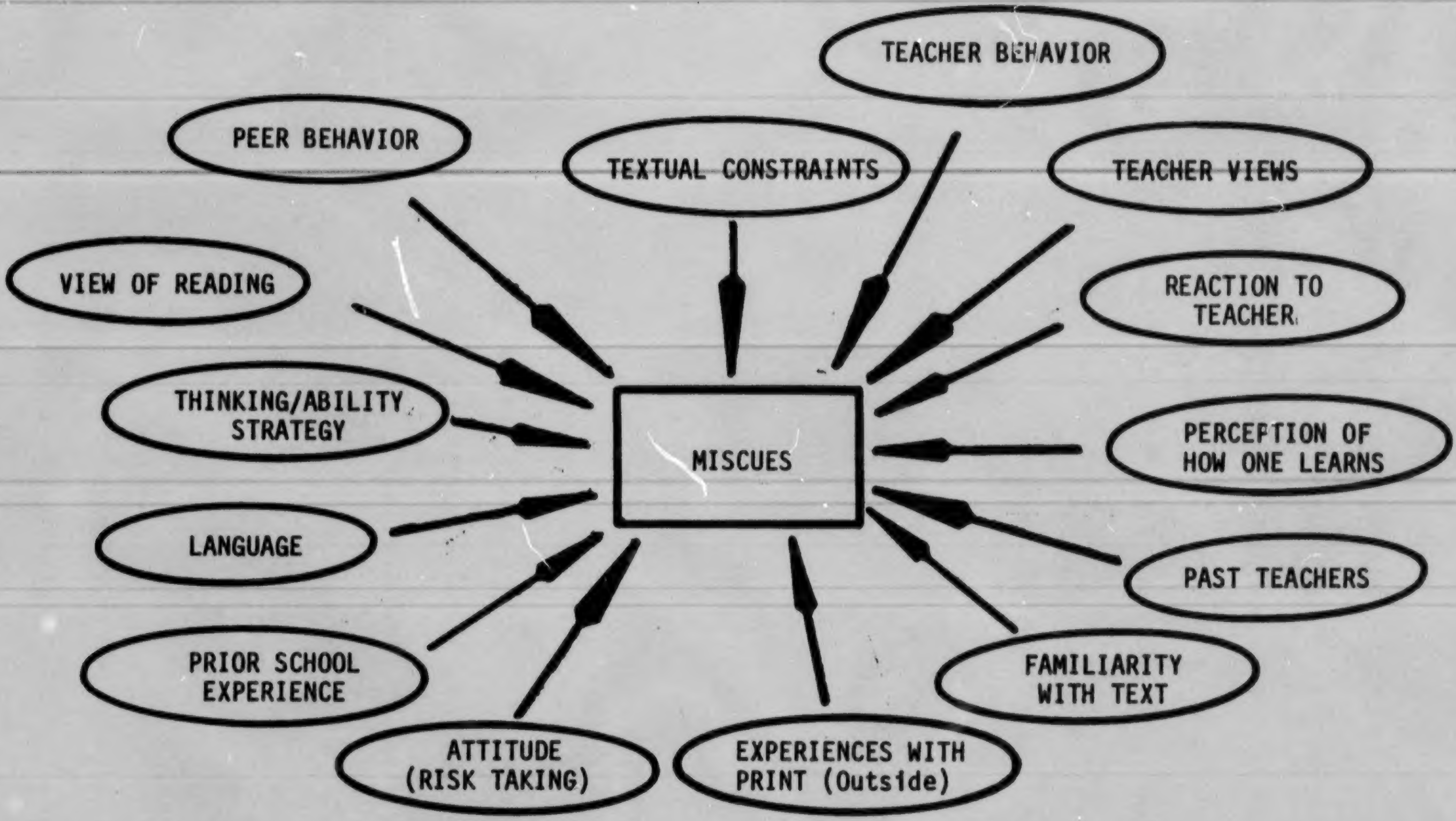
To identify factors influencing adults' acquisition of successful learning-to-read strategies, data from five sources were considered: 1) field observations and related discussions on adults involved in learning to read, 2) interviews with ABRs, 3) interviews with ABRs' teachers and tutors, 4) input of two adult education consultants with 40 years' combined experience directing ABR programs, and 5) related research. Data here are not limited to the 14 ABRs whose reading profiles were singled out for analysis. Data on all ABRs who were observed or interviewed (over 60 ABRs) during any phase of the study are included. Because general observations in the field overlapped the observer training period by one month, observations reported here cover a nine-month period.

Throughout the study, the staff continually attempted to identify and verify factors contributing to the ABRs' success or failure in learning to read. Observations and interviews were therefore used not only to gain information on the oral reading behavior of ABRs, but also to identify how and why ABRs acquired these behaviors. In interviews, teachers and tutors suggested that ABRs' reading behavior was influenced by general factors such as attendance and attending behavior in class. It was pointed out that ABRs who attended erratically would not be able to learn skills or strategies taught. Observers identified other factors operating in the learning situation, such as prior learning experience, textual constraints, and language. Research on related literature was used to clarify these observations. At each session, using field observations as a point of departure, observers speculated upon potential variables which may have influenced the ABRs' reading behavior, discussed variables identified in prior sessions, and analyzed field notes to determine whether observed behavior verified that these variables indeed influenced behavior. Future observations and subsequent interview questions then focused on these behaviors. Variables identified (see Chapter III) tended to be interrelated.

Variables are not presented in an organized or hierarchical fashion, since variables were added simply as they were identified during field observations or as reasons for ABRs' miscues were explored in weekly observer conferences. No framework has been imposed on the analysis at this time. The goal here was to identify and explore implications of variables influencing behavior. The nonsystematic display in Chart 1 reflects this approach. Moreover, no attempt will be made here to do more than suggest the interaction among these variables. However, the complexity of the learning-to-read process has been emphasized. This process is not simply the result of the interaction of reader and text or even of student, author, and available text cues, as Goodman and Burke (1971,

CHART 1

FACTORS OBSERVED AS INFLUENCING READING BEHAVIOR


TEACHER BEHAVIOR
PEER BEHAVIOR
TEXTUAL CONSTRAINTS
TEACHER VIEWS
VIEW OF READING
REACTION TO TEACHER
THINKING/ABILITY STRATEGY
MISCUES
PERCEPTION OF HOW ONE LEARNS
LANGUAGE
PAST TEACHERS
PRIOR SCHOOL EXPERIENCE
FAMILIARITY WITH TEXT
ATTITUDE (RISK TAKING)
EXPERIENCES WITH PRINT (Outside)

p. 95) suggest. For the ABR, the learning-to-read process is influenced by a variety of factors operating in the learning environment, including teacher, peer, and physical setting. Moreover, the learning environment for the ABR is broader than the school context. ABRs indicated that their reading behavior was also influenced by instruction or help provided at home.

Factors identified by 1) tutors, teachers, and consultants; 2) observers; and 3) ABRs tended to differ. All factors identified are discussed below. In discussing each factor perceived as influencing the acquisition of specific oral reading strategies, guidelines for instruction and related research needs are explored.

Teachers' Perception: Crucial Factors

Consultants, teachers, and tutors tended to agree on what might seem an obvious point: students were more successful the more they attended class. ABRs used taught reading behaviors more if they had more opportunity to learn and practice them. Teachers stated that attendance, in turn, "related to jobs . . . schedule changes . . . lack of friends in the center, 'family problems,' or 'transportation problems.'"

Attendance

Some teachers suggested ABRs came more when the learning situation met their needs. They also indicated that these needs varied, saying:

> "They stay if they see it is useful, functional, or meets their need." "They need to be dependent on authority, or they have social needs to be with people of . . . similar ages, background, needs, interests." "They need to 'make up' for deficiencies in education, background--if not in actual work, then just in being in school. To be able to say, 'I'm going for my G.E.D.' is important."

Observations (see Chapter V) did confirm this. Other teachers explained that students became discouraged and left because:

> "Sometimes they don't have a realistic view of their abilities and they think we'll perform miracles, and they project disappointment on to us, saying, 'This place is a rip-off,' and so they drop out."

Field observations seemed to confirm the relationship between attendance and the ABRs' feelings that their needs were being met and between attendance and perception of progress. In addition, field notes also helped refine an understanding of what the ABR considers as needs and progress.

While teachers emphasized that students' needs related to what they wanted to learn, field notes indicated that needs also concerned how ABRs wanted to learn. Since variables relating to dropout behavior could potentially be controlled within an instructional format, further exploration of this behavior was undertaken. Certainly, ABRs have clear ideas about how they should learn, and these ideas can be accommodated. Consider the field notes below:

> (OBS: Ned was very controlling with Mr. A, saying, "I will study these words and you call them off to me." Mr. A did this.) (2/24)

(OBS: The dialogue between John and Mr. A again related to John's attempts to tell Mr. A how he wanted to learn. John: "Do you think like if we took down words and you try to make sentences with them." Mr. A: "That would help. We could do that maybe on Thursday--we could do that." John: "I can make up my own.") (4/4)

(OBS: I arrived about 7:05. Mrs. E stuck her head in to say hello. John was working independently on a small typed page. He spent a great deal of time on each word. When Mr. A pronounced a word for him, relief, John said it three times and then said to Mr. A: "Like you just say part of it." Then John said, "How about if I circle it and just write them in a list and learn them." Mr. A left the room and John asked what I was doing. I explained the study and asked him if it was okay. He said it was okay as long as he got what he wanted. He said he wanted to learn to read fluently and wanted to know how long it would take.) (4/9)

ABRs are concerned about what they should learn, but this need is usually met.

(OBS: Later when Fred was leaving the reading class to go to math, his comments point to reasons why adults feel they should be attended to. Fred: "I'm not wanting to go to my math--this is what I want. I get up at 5 a.m." Mr. A encourages him to find out if someone can help him with reading. Someone knocks on the door as another class gets out. Mavis starts to read to herself. Fred is still rambling about "doing" reading.) (4/27)

Most often students were heard giving the teacher direction on how they felt they should learn. These directions included requests to learn by spelling words; requests to go over material missed; requests to compare words; requests to listen to the student reread. When these requests were met, students tended to stay. When they were not met--when the students did not control the how of the learning situations--students often left. When students faced the dual problem of having neither the how nor the what of their learning follow their wishes, they usually dropped out. One such case was described in the field observations on Tad:

> (OBS: The most obviously bright and successful student is Tad, and *he* seems to know what his problem is--as when he asked Mr. A to clarify "chan*ge*/chan*ce*" visual differences. Tad said to Mr. A after he had misread *chance* as *change*, "Put *change* on the board; write it." (Mr. A did.) Then Tad said, "Okay, write *chance* under it." (Mr. A did.) "See," said Tad, "that's it; they look alike." (Mr. A underlined the different letters.) Tad said, "That's why I mix them up; I've got to watch for that." When Tad missed several other words, Mr. A did not repeat this strategy.)

Tad also appeared to be with a group of adults reading material he himself found easy. He seemed more aware of and concerned with this:

> (OBS: Tad was again very responsive and volunteering, and once mouthed an answer to me, perhaps because he did not want to answer again in a small class of six. It will be interesting to see what sentences he comes up with.) (10/25)
>
> (OBS: Mr. A asked, "Do you know why I did that?" Mr. A placed several words on the board--*light*, *book*, *chain*, *table*, *picture*. Tad looked bored, yawned obviously. Does he think this is too easy? All choral read these.)
> (OBS: Tad answers most of Mr. A's questions. He sounds bored as he reads. He reads the material fluently with correct phrasing, missing only one or two words. He sounds bored as he reads.) (10/28)

The fact that students may be misplaced is not overlooked by teachers or students. For example, Tad had a counselor call the center and explain that he thought the work was too easy. Unfortunately, there are not always enough teachers to accommodate the different levels of ABRs. Tad was very articulate, almost at a pre-GED level. His level of abstract thinking was demonstrated when he translated a picture of a small and a large baseball player as a minor- and a major-leaguer. He left the center after three sessions and has not returned. Tad, like many other ABRs, knew how he wanted to learn and had expectations about how difficult it should be.

While students were concerned that material was too easy, there was little evidence that students thought that material was too hard. Most ABRs observed were reading material well above their instructional level; that is, they would make miscues on almost half of the words. This did not seem to inhibit learning or attitude. As one ABR teacher explained, "Students expect learning to read to be hard." It seems that if learning--or at least learning material--is not difficult, ABRs assume that they are not learning. ABRs' ability to tolerate working with very difficult material may have been facilitated by the ABR teacher's patience and methodical use of text. This may be why students are concerned that teachers be patient. When ABRs were asked what they would look for in a teacher, "patience" was a unanimous response.

The fear of material being too difficult is present especially, and perhaps only, in the first session, when peer and teacher acceptance or trust is established, as an ABR noted:

> I've had people give me stuff and say, "Read this." What can you say but "I can't read"? (2/10)

The initial concern with difficulty of material seems to relate to the fact that the ABR has to say, "I can't read." Once she or he recognizes peers also can't read or can't read well, concerns about difficulty of material or format are not apparent.

This fear is overcome by developing trust, a trust that may not be developed if the teacher does not respond to other needs. ABRs were usually not pressured to do more than persist. Also, control seems very important to ABRs. For example, Ned, who worked alternately on learning letter names and on choral reading pre-GED-level material, seemed willing to tolerate working with material in which he could read only five or six of 100 running words. As he said, he would put up with anything as long as he got what he wanted.

For other ABRs, level of ease was, however, important. This was especially true for three students who were initially attending regularly and later attended more erratically (Frances, Al, and Roger). These ABRs were moved up to a pre-GED group toward the end of this study because of an observer's concern that they would drop out. After being moved to the pre-GED group, all three started to attend regularly.

ABRs were concerned when skills, as well as material, seemed too easy. Jim, for example, continued to attend, although erratically, despite the fact that he often had experiences like Tad's:

> The teacher has presented an assignment on alphabetizing. Jim uses printing when he writes an assignment. Jim is sitting and reading the words on his paper. You can see his lips move as he reads. He has now started singing the Mickey Mouse song. (OBS: He really seems bored.) Jim is referring to alphabetizing as first-grade work.
>
> Mrs. K has responded to Jim. She tells him she wasn't trying to insult his intelligence. Jim goes on and on about this being an adult learning center.
>
> When the class started working with the letters, Sue did well until she had two words beginning with the same letter. She really didn't know what to do. She asked for help. Mrs. K explained to her again about using the alphabet with the second letter when the first letters are the same.
>
> Jim has started roaming in and out. The director is saying something to him. (OBS: When he comes back in the room, he does

not display his usual belligerent attitude.) (11/26)

Because students in one class were observed to be making controlling remarks before dropping out, teachers were asked about students' controlling remarks. Most teachers were aware of these statements, but believed that it was often hard to meet students' needs, given the press of time and the varied abilities of students. As the field notes above indicate, the diversity of students' needs may mean that what one student finds easy may be difficult for a peer. Teachers pointed out that students were often able to control some parts of class (such as discussions) with their comments or questions, and the teachers tried to promote this opportunity.

Peer behavior also influenced attendance. ABRs were rather frank about this, as Sandy indicated during an interview:

> Sandy brought up the behavior of a peer. She disapproved of his eating and sleeping in class. Sandy said, "It's like, you know, being with people who are sick. Pretty soon it rubs off on you." (4/4)

Peer attendance also may influence attendance. ABRs often sought to explain their own absences, even when peers seemed indifferent.

> The next word was solar energy. When Mrs. K introduced this word, Dee came into the room. She went on explaining she was late. She said she had to carry her girlfriend a cake. (OBS: No one seemed to be listening to her.)
>
> (OBS: Horace felt a need to explain his absence, not to Mr. A, but to Mavis when Mr. A left the room. He explained that he was working a double shift.) (1/12)

ABRs may explain attendance because they realize peers are as concerned:

> Ned asks me if that other guy comes anymore. I ask who, he says, "Can't read like me." I say, "Ben?" He says, "Yes." I tell him I have not seen him in a while. He is looking up at the ceiling. (3/26)

Reasons for absences are given, although less frequently to teachers. As one teacher reported, explanations seem vague:

> Ned is working in his workbook when I enter. He is alone. I ask him out loud to spell the words he had trouble with two weeks ago; he still does (with yells/yalls) and one other word. I tell him to do an exercise following the section. Before he does, he tells me he sold his truck--that's why he wasn't here two weeks ago--and bought a VW car. It saves gas mileage, he related. (3/17)

Perhaps concern for attendance is a social convention, but it may be a way of judging commitment. One observer reported:

> (OBS: When I came in after being out for one week, Mavis looked up and said, "I thought you'd given up on me." I was amazed that my presence even as observer would be interpreted as support.) (3/31)

Teacher attendance is obviously more important. ABR teachers report that students often leave when their teachers do. Perhaps ABRs need to see that others believe in them and in the program. Certainly students' comments in class suggest the need to have their efforts supported by peers and teachers. This is apparent in students' initial statements in classes. Most students, in joining a class, tended to make some statement indicating why it was important to be learning to read. Teachers suggested that this was because these reflected pep talks that others had given them before they joined the class or because ABRs felt a need to rationalize their presence. In any case, students' dialogue reflected the type of self-admission often heard at a self-help meeting. It is very hard to admit that one cannot read, and perhaps equally hard to admit that one cannot get along without learning to read. The type of dialogue noted below was frequent and seemed to emerge whenever a new student joined the class.

> (OBS: Mr. A said, "I'm going to read one part again which we didn't talk about--meeting people." Mr. A asked if anyone thought about that. Rodney said, relating the story to himself, "You go into a place, you're nervous--I know I was. See, I've been through this course before. I got a certificate from them--I been at N_____ School."
>
> Mavis murmured, "Very nice." Horace said, "See, if I had stayed in school like I was supposed to stay in school, I would be reading now.")
>
> Rodney said, "It takes more guts to go through that door and say you haven't got an education and you can't read . . . ." (2/10)

Peer and teacher support, trust, and rapport may influence attendance. This was not unexpected, nor was the need of ABRs to be with a group they could identify with unexpected. It would not be difficult to deal with these needs by prefacing instructional sessions with brief discussions of the importance of learning, or of problems encountered due to lack of reading skill--or even discussions on how important teachers and peer attendance and behavior are to all. Certainly, it would seem that these issues should be dealt with during initial meetings with ABRs. It would be helpful if more information were available on the impact of initial perceived teacher/peer acceptance on attendance.

The ABRs' need to control learning, including the how, the what, and the difficulty level of material, can also be accommodated within instructional frameworks. For example, a key question preceding most instruction of ABRs could be "How do you feel you can learn this?"

If students are concerned about material that is too easy, placement and monitoring of placement become very important, with regard both to achievement and to students' perceptions. When written material used presents no decoding problems for students, teachers might take special care in explaining the rationale for using this material. Even better, all instruction might be preceded by explanations of purpose, the value of the skill being taught, and the materials used to teach this skill.

These conclusions related to attendance do not obviate the fact that job and home problems result in dropouts. Nor does this, in turn, lessen the need to look at internal factors--for these are the controllable factors. Many ABRs continued to attend classes despite job changes, personal tragedies such as death in the family, or transportation problems; others continued to attend (although erratically) when they were obviously working at material that was too easy or with procedures they were continually unable to change. It was unfortunate that the people who dropped out appeared to be among the brightest and most articulate. It is possible that this was unique to the population observed. It is also possible that, like many ABRs, these people did not drop out entirely, but "dropped in" to other classes that met their needs.

Again, guidelines suggested above would require only minor changes in instructional frameworks currently in use. Because ABRs are more likely to learn reading strategies if they are present when these are taught, it seems appropriate to determine whether these guidelines would be likely to promote attendance and consequent opportunity to learn taught strategies.

Attending to Instruction

Teachers and tutors said that paying attention during class was the second most important factor in ABRs' successful use of taught strategies.

Just as Monroe (1932) pointed out the danger in not looking more closely at reasons for CBRs' failure to learn to read, it seemed important to look at a major concern of ABR teachers: that adults would learn if they would pay attention and "try." Observation of behaviors relating to attending behavior, however, for the most part simply reinforced prior knowledge of factors known to increase attending. When ABR teachers said that some ABRs did not pay attention or try, they did not mean they were lazy. ABR teachers recognize that many ABRs come after work or during work breaks, and are often exhausted. Teachers also recognized that some ABRs are so overwhelmed with personal problems that it is difficult for them to attend to class lessons.

One purpose of this study was to identify factors within the learning situation that might control attending. For example, at times students' attending behavior seems influenced by their failure. At this point, peer support seems important, as field notes indicate:

> One teacher explained: After class, I asked Ned if he recalls how to spell gas, nails. He does not. Mavis tells him to study hard and remember God is with him and he will learn. (5/18)
>
> (OBS: Mavis at the end of class said to Lonnie, "You study these words now." Lonnie said he would. Mavis is also now

> taking more of a mothering/directing role here. Last week she had some comments on Horace, and pre-class today had some comments (negative) on Don, whose voice could be heard.
>
> Lonnie sat close to Mavis on entering. He could have taken a seat between her and Mr. A, but sat on her other side. She provides him with pen/pencil and reinforces him. At one point Mavis said to Lonnie, "Come on, Lonnie, you can think." Lonnie glances at me.
>
> The caring attitude toward Lonnie may be because he works with them. I'm not sure Horace does.) (2/12)

Students also tend to monitor each other's (mis)behavior to promote attending:

> Frances got them (workbook exercises) all right. Then Mr. A came in. She gave the paper to him. He gave it back, and she said: "Oh" and started to look at Roger. (OBS: I missed her look, but Roger made a "straighten-up" type gesture at her.) (OBS: Did she want reinforcement, want to avoid going over the paper? I'm not sure.) (11/18)

Later, Mavis frequently monitored Lonnie's attention--to the point of kicking him when he fell asleep. He initially took this good-naturedly. Some apparent lack of attending behavior may result from the students' inability to complete a task effectively; that is, they do not know what to attend to. For example, Shawn, when given a series of words to study, could not read these twenty minutes later. Field notes indicate that he was trying to learn words by spelling them to himself. When he saw the words later, he and the teacher were somewhat frustrated. Shawn kept saying, "I know the word, but I just can't say it." A re-examination of the field notes indicates why: Shawn was naming the letters of the word and checking his ability to name the letters against the actual word, but he never once said the word. He "knew" the word only in the sense that he had often restated the letter sequence; he had never associated this sequence with the word. This is not unusual. Many ABRs equate learning to read with learning to spell, and believe one will promote the other. For this reason, they attend to letter names and not to the meaning the letter sequences are meant to convey.

At other times when ABRs seemed to take 15 or 20 minutes to do simple tasks such as writing a sentence or completing a workbook page, it seemed that they were not attending to the task. However, close observation suggests that many were fearful of risking putting an incorrect response on paper, and they had not developed or been given strategies on how to proceed if they did not know what to write.

Attending is also reinforced by teacher feedback. Students reacted very positively to specific reinforcement. For example, when Mr. A complimented Alex for stopping at a period, Al made exaggerated stops during the remainder of the reading.

Attending, then, as most ABR teachers suggested, was enhanced by one-to-one attention, peer behavior, specificity of reinforcement, and an understanding of the task at hand. Attending appeared to be negatively influenced when the ABRs were physically or emotionally down or when they did not understand what to do.

Most ABR teachers would find no new insights into increasing attending behavior in these field notes. However, observations reinforce known instructional guidelines: varying one-to-one and group teaching to promote peer and teacher feedback, reinforcing specifically the desired behavior, and establishing that directions for all tasks are clear before ABRs are asked to work independently.

In summary, examination of factors identified by teachers, tutors, and consultants as having impact on learning of specific reading behaviors did result in identifying potentially helpful guidelines for instruction.

Observers' Perception: Crucial Factors

Observers tried to identify factors influencing not only general success, but also use of specific reading behaviors. Observers identified the teacher's behavior, constraints of text, prior schooling, peer behavior, students' and teachers' views of reading, students' thinking skills, and students' language skills. Also identified were skills taught in text, students' outside experiences with print, prior life experiences, attitude, and willingness to take risks.

This second group of factors seemed to be subsumed under the first group listed. Thus, factors in the initial list are discused separately below.

Teaching Behavior

Teaching behavior did have impact upon the type of miscues observed. However, it was often more the teaching style than the skills taught that affected behavior.

Basically, the three teachers who directed classes used different styles. Ms. B tended to use Laubach materials and systematically followed this decoding/spelling program. Mr. A used a variety of approaches, but tended to stress phonograms (word families), initial sounds, vocabulary (with semantic mapping exercises), and oral reading. Mrs. K also varied instruction, stressing silent and oral reading, vocabulary (by discussion and definitions), class discussions, and writing experiences. Ms. K. also stressed a single-letter approach to decoding. The tutors: Mrs. P. stressed context, syllabication, discussion of strategies, and oral reading; Mrs. F stressed decoding (word families) and oral reading; Mr. A., as tutor, stressed use of context and decoding.

Ms. B , Mrs. K , and Mrs. F stressed repetition and review of skills. Others varied skills. Excerpts from field notes clarify five reasons for teaching style's having more impact on miscue behavior than skills taught.

a. Limited opportunity to practice taught skills. The text read after the taught skill often provided little opportunity to practice that skill. For example, Mrs. P taught Bea to associate the sound/symbol /ee/ in free, /ea/ in leave by having her write and decode a series of words with this pattern. Bea tried to apply this, but opportunity was limited.

> Mrs. P chose a card from the "High Interest Reading List" of materials written by adults in adult learning centers. The card selected was "Lost in the World" by Harry Darras. There were two paragraphs on the front of the card. Below is the card.
>
> . . . .
>
> When an adult wants to read, there is never anything that he can read. For instance, take an adult who is in jail. Everybody is sitting around reading. He just sits there, going crazy. Then if he does something stupid, everybody wonders why.
>
> . . . .
>
> Bea looked at the first sentence and perhaps more.
>
> Mrs. P says, "I know what you are doing. You are reading the whole thing before you say it out loud. That's okay, if you feel more comfortable. Go ahead."

> Bea says, "That's *read*," pointing to the word.
> Mrs. P says, "That's right."
> Bea points to *adult* and says, "What's that?" (11/6)

There is really only one word, *read(ing)*, to which Bea can now apply the taught skill.

This type of thing happened frequently because teachers had to maintain student interest or meet stated needs by using varied materials. Only one instructor (Ms. B) relied heavily on one type of material that provided regular practice in the taught skill. Her students were also the only ones who consistently learned the taught skill.

b. *Students' skill focus*. The teacher may be teaching one skill (here, decoding), while the students are unable to use this or are using another (graphic similarity). Students have skills or cues they tend to focus upon regardless of instruction, as field notes indicate:

> Mr. A. lists two columns on the board. Under Column I, he puts /-ade/, under Column II /-aid/. He asks students to say a word and tell which column it belongs in.
>
> Frances: /aid/
> Al: paid (points to correct column)
> Frances: *jail* sounds something like that
> Al: maid
> Mr. A : (to Mavis) "If it started with a *b* it would be--"
> Mavis: beige
> Al: said
>
> (OBS: It seems that while Frances says *jail* sounds like that, she, like Al, may mean it looks like it, since in isolation she later cannot render /ai/ for *a.i.*) (3/24)

Another example:

> Mrs. K tells the students they will be making their individual

> plans for the next month. She says she will be taking them out of the room to talk about their plans one at a time. She explains that while she is out of the room, she wants them to listen to a tape.
>
> Mrs. K leaves the room. Jim and Susan are talking.
>
> The tape is working on the sound of f. Susan says "fish."
>
> The students are reading along with the tape.
>
> Jan is writing the answers to the questions.
>
> Sara is staring out the door.
>
> The tape gives directions to the second part of the lesson in cartoon form.
>
> The students have to fill in the words the story is about. The goal is to fill in the blank with a word starting with f. (OBS: The students are using context clues to get the answers to the questions.) (10/29)

It was not unusual for students, even in what were to be learning situations on new skills, to use skills they found easiest (graphic cues, syntax).

All teachers, regardless of stated goal (meaning or decoding) tended to focus upon words, i.e., word recognition; thus, it is not surprising that ABRs judge their reading ability in terms of the number of words they know and not by the meaning they get from text, as shown by Maxine's question following a rendering of a passage: "How many I get wrong?" The tutor validated this emphasis, as his own notes indicate:

> Mr. A explained: "I said we've--It's real important to know these words, because they are going to come up again in the other stories you read. So how about trying this: I'll write down some of these words on cards and then you can practice with these cards." She said, "Sure, I appreciate that. Thank you, dear." I said, "Good, we'll try it next week." (2/11)

Most ABR teachers confirmed in interviews what was observed--that when ABRs did not recognize a word, they would first be prompted to decode the word even when context was available:

> After we completed the sentences, I asked her to go over each of them and read them for me. She read each of the sentences with a minimum of difficulty. She was having trouble with the word *gave*. I sounded the word like the word *Dave*. (9/15)

Students, then, tend to reread to practice saying words, not to determine whether they can understand more of what happened in the passage or to make more inferences from text. Word recognition is primary; it is clear that ABRs, at least at the beginning and intermediate stages of learning to read, do not consider meaning an important factor in gaining skill in word recognition. Again, while ABR teachers stated and recognized the importance of use of context, what prevailed was commitment to a focus on the graphophonic features of words. Given students' apparently limited facility with phonemic features, the prevalent use of graphic features by ABRs should be expected, because words and graphophonic features of words are stressed in teachers' style of introduction and instructional focus.

c. *Variations in follow-up*. Mrs. P , for example, who often used language-experience stories of other ABRs because the language and content would be familiar to the student, tended to focus subsequently on neither the language nor the content:

> Text: "It was a Friday when my mother started getting sick."
> (OBS: This is a story Bea had dictated earlier.)
>
> Bea missed *started* and *sick*. *St* *ar* *ted*. Ms. R wrote this on a pad of paper and encouraged Bea to sound it out and put all the sounds together. *Sick*. Ms. R said there is no strategy for *sick*, and said the word for her.
>
> Text: "She started getting worser and worser. My father

> wanted to rush her out to the hospital, but she said to leave her alone."
>
> Bea missed wanted and rush. Mrs. P wrote: want/ed and rush. Mrs. P covered -ed with her finger. (11/6)

In other instances, teachers--in attempting to have students focus on use of context--would interrupt reading (disrupting context) with long discussions on use of context. This rarely interfered with students' using syntax, but may in part account for the subsequent reluctance or inability of most ABRs to use semantic cues or to gain meaning increasingly as more text was read. The reverse would often happen. After teaching a given decoding skill, teachers would prompt students to use context. The rationale in this case was usually obvious: the stimulus word was often irregular (e.g., cough, thorough); and context would, to the person who could read the word, be the better cue.

Prompts such as "sound it out," "read on and see if you can figure it out," "look for a part you know" were given frequently by the teacher, but rarely in a consistent order. Students were consistent, as noted earlier, in the use of graphic cues and syntax. It appears that students may not focus on the taught skill because they are not encouraged to use that skill by the style of teacher follow-up.

As discussed in Chapter III, sometimes students do not use taught skills because they learn to rely on teachers' prompting use of these skills. At other times, as noted above, teaching behavior or style--especially in follow-up interactions--can draw the student away from using the very skill taught.

In only one situation did students clearly learn and use skills taught. This was with Ms. B , who consistently taught and used similar prompts during follow-up sessions.

Ms. B. would call attention to previously taught sounds, patterns, or words when students needed help in review lessons:

> The student read *play* for *please*. Ms. B said there are two vowels together, *e* on end. The student could not read *tall*; Ms. B said, "Say *all*; put /t/ in front." (3/17)
>
> John, "say *up*," /p/, "pup." She writes *man* next to *Mr.* so he will know. Next I go over to Maxine, who reads page *21* for me. It was interesting listening to her text. I asked her what letter started *picks*, when she hesitated, she said /p/. I said, "What is the next word?" (1/22)

Students in this class and this class alone tended consistently, in class and during testing, to attempt to use modeled and reinforced decoding strategies. Occasionally, these students were taught and would use context; but, for the most part, consistency in teaching the strategy appeared to result in consistency in using that strategy.

It must be stressed that teachers and tutors used a variety of approaches, such as a modified directed reading approach, usually with no silent reading first; dictation and rereading of ABR stories; discussion; decoding; spelling; and even field trips. For example:

> Mrs. K starts off with announcements about the newspaper. Bea is looking through a *National Geographic* magazine. Mrs. K tells the class about a deadline for the next issue; they can write articles, submit recipes, things to sell, poems. A well-dressed male enters and sits at the rear, remains silent the rest of the class. Sam enters and sits at the front. Mrs. K fills him in about the newspaper. She appeals to his interest in music: "Perhaps you can write something about that."

> It seems Jim will be doing much of the layout work for this issue.
>
> One week from today class will be going to the library only to check out books. Sam says, "I don't think I'll go; I have books that are overdue two years." Mrs. K explains that the library would be understanding if he returned them. A short discussion on this topic ensues among the students.
>
> Next, Mrs. K explains the driving class in the center. It is solely for a learner's permit, not a driver's license.

However, when one factor (follow-up prompts on skill use) is considered, the greater the variability of the prompts, the less ABRs tended to use either the taught or the prompted behavior.

d. Irrelevant cues. An example of an irrelevant cue is a teacher pulling out a handkerchief to cue the word Hank (10/29) or pointing at the ceiling to cue the word ceiling. Most learners, ABR teachers included, have been exposed to this teacher behavior. This behavior, while directing student attention away from text and available cues, also indicates that teachers feel that meaning or concrete experience is important in learning. This teaching behavior may also signify the teacher's recognition of the importance of the student's independently rendering the word. The ABR teacher is eager for the student to experience success, and any teacher strategy that will promote this is used. However, this teaching behavior could not be expected to prompt use of taught skills or strategies; nor could this behavior be used by students. The importance of this behavior may be in what it reveals about teachers' natural inclination to promote student independence and use of concrete, meaningful referents.

e. Introduction of new words. Craik and Tulving (in Colheart, 1977) and others have provided evidence that the manner in which a word is first learned or analyzed (i.e., whether for graphophonic or semantic features) influences the way the word is recalled and the effectiveness with which it is recalled. Some research indicates that initial semantic analysis is more effective than analysis concentrating on other cues when words are to be recognized in text (Coleheart, 1977). While this type of research on introduction of words has been conducted with proficient adult readers or CBRs, the observed behavior of ABRs suggests that this research (which should be conducted with ABRs) has implications for ABRs. Most teaching observed here, regardless of the teacher's skill goal, promoted use of graphophonic strategies. While ABRs can make progress using these strategies, this progress is in word recognition or in use of graphic/phonemic cues, and not necessarily in comprehension of text. The potential for promoting better reading by initial presentation of all words using semantic analysis needs to be explored further with ABRs.

Regardless of teacher goals in having students read text for meaning, most silent or oral reading of text was preceded by a discussion of new words. These words were usually introduced by stressing graphophonic features:

> Mrs. K starts the class by writing various words on the board. She writes the following words on the board: calendar
> mistake
> thousands
> salute
> celebrate
> solar energy
> source
>
> Mrs. K is asking what these words are. The students give her calendar first. The new student, Kim, gives her the word calendar.
>
> The next word Mrs. K. gives is mistake. She talks to the

> students about the word. She explains the word as being a prefix and a root word. She tells the students mis- means "not."
>
> The next word she writes is thousands. Mrs. K emphasizes the sound of th in the word. She gives the examples that and think. (Note: Mrs. K has earlier taught using correct examples of voiced and unvoiced th.)
>
> The next word she puts on the board is the word salute. (OBS: Some of the students have trouble with it. I wonder if it is a word which is not in their vocabularies.)
>
> The next word is celebrate. Mrs. K gives the rule when c is followed by e. Mrs. K wrote on the board e, i, and y. She explained the sound of c becomes the sound of s when it is followed by e, i, or y.
>
> When a word is missed, the teacher "breaks it down" for the student. (1/14)

Words were also often then used in sentences. One teacher would develop a word tree on new words and in subsequent review stress decoding. It appears, however, that it is the initial introduction which is important. It also seems important that teachers review words in a variety of ways. Clay (1978) in another context emphasizes that a set for diversity promoting both learning and transfer of learning was enhanced when students learned on variable tasks. Introducing a word in one set manner and practicing words only in a given context would limit a set for diversity. Teachers who are concerned with students' inability to recall a word learned earlier or students' inability to generalize a given skill must consider the need to introduce a word or skill in a variety of ways and in a variety of contexts. Most teaching observed indicated that words are, at most, reviewed in two ways and practiced in two different contexts: word card and text.

Diversity comes in the form of erratic prompts to use various cues during follow-up or review lessons. It may be desirable to help students establish a set for diversity by varying tasks and by having ABRs systematically learn to use or call upon various cues. Another aspect of adult learning behavior needs to be considered in introducing words. Howe (1977) indicated that there was great stability in adults' incorrect responses; once a mistake occurred, it was maintained. But when an adult made a miscue and it was corrected, the adult would (here) tend to maintain the correction for at least the remainder of the text unless a person's name was involved. In this case, ABRs fairly consistently would render the person's name as they had first stated it, or give variations of that rendering. However, Howe's point may have important implications for initially guiding or providing a correct rendering and then following this with a focus on meaning. That is, if ABRs tend to persist on initial renderings, it would be important that correct responses be provided before miscues are practiced.

ABRs' focus on graphic cues can be appreciated more when the consistent style of introduction is seen as one with a focus upon graphophonic features. Yet, a certain trade-off between the use of graphophonic and that of meaning cues is expected (Juel and Holmes, 1981). That is, the more meaning available to the reader, the less graphophonics are needed. For ABRs this seems to mean that the more graphophonic cues are used, the less meaning is gained. Stanovich (1981) says that this (graphophonic/meaning) interaction can be understood better when the concept is combined with a compensatory processing model--i.e., that a deficit in any particular process will result in greater reliance upon another process. The reason(s) for ABRs' deficit in reading for meaning can partially, then, be explained through the orientation to print established by teaching style. That is, most ABRs are first oriented toward graphophonic features of words. Whether this should be a matter of great concern or not needs to be explored. Certainly, ABRs can progress to final stages of learning to read when their oral reading behavior demonstrates high use of graphic cues. The question is, will they go further? Some research indicates that they may not!

The implications here for teaching are not that only one cue system should be taught systematically, but that some consistency or pattern of cueing may be appropriate. The need to provide more opportunity to practice taught skill and to promote use of this skill when varied high-interest materials are used suggests that supplementary skill programs are needed and must be cross-referenced with high-interest materials. Some cross-reference guides are available, but these tend to be quickly outdated and not to use high-interest materials.

It would be helpful if practice exercises promoted the use of the taught skill. For example, when the students were using context to select a word for the /f/ exercise discussed earlier, use of the desired skill might have been promoted if there had been three options for responding--two using the given initial letter (one contextually correct, one not), and one using a contextually correct word not beginning with the given initial letter.

This initial set of speculations on guidelines for instructional implications refers to materials, whether developed by publisher or by teacher. Related implications would require consideration of the fact that, while some ABRs prefer to be taught from more difficult material, exercises related to such material must be much easier to facilitate independent activity.

Further exploration of the impact of teacher introduction, pre-discussion, and intervening discussion on type of cues is needed. Intervening discussions guiding word recognition, whether the purpose is to promote decoding or to promote use of context, still (as noted here and in Chapter III) promote use of graphic cues.

ABR teachers might also want to promote attention to phonemic features of words by not printing corresponding graphic symbols on the board until it is clear that students can hear, discriminate, identify, segment, and blend these phonemes. At this point, dialect variations can be identified by the teacher, and corresponding graphic symbols can be presented. For example, if /old/ is introduced, and students offer words like coal, goal, or even ball, teachers might recognize that to some students these phonemes are similar and thus at least /old/ and /oal/ would be examined as visual variants of the same phoneme, just as /er/ /ir/ /ur/ are accepted visual variants of a single phoneme in standard English. Labov (1970) has pointed out that speakers of nonstandard dialects are often expected to construct a categorical rule in an area in which they have been using variable rules (p. 224). The opposite may also be true: some readers may be expected to use variable rules (or hear auditory recognition patterns) when categorical patterns may be more useful. Other similar phonemes might be identified to facilitate the teaching of those wishing to promote decoding skills.

Variations in teacher prompts to use various cue systems need to be explored further. Teachers often suggest meaning prompts when the stimulus word does not conform to taught sound/symbol relationships and graphophonic prompts when the word does conform to taught skills. Thus, they are making a judgment that may be unclear to the student. Perhaps the modeling of this decision process, or the consistent use and subsequent discarding of cues, would promote more effective use of cueing systems taught.

Teachers recognize the importance of stressing word meaning and use of context, while students make minor use of these skills either in learning words or in rendering text. This suggests the need to explore more thoroughly how teachers' styles influence use of cues.

As noted in Chapter III, the greatest impact on the immediate use of cues appeared to be that of the teachers' introduction of text. It may also be that the teacher's style in introducing and reviewing words has the greatest impact upon students' subsequent use of cues. Because teacher style in initial introduction of words, for all teachers and tutors involved in this study, was similar (decoding), it was not possible to explore this possibility in depth at this time. Further exploration is planned. Examination of other factors having impact on cue use, discussed below, reinforced the view that this (style of introduction) was a crucial factor.

Constraints of Text

It often appeared that the nature of the text itself influenced the type of cue ABRs used or misused. Important elements of text include syntax, story structure, level of abstraction, proximity of graphically similar words, and frequency of referent words.

It was evident that the more abstract the concept presented (e.g., "superstition" versus "losing car keys"), the greater the difficulty students had in establishing meaning. The more difficulty students had with the meaning of the text, the less either syntactic or semantic cues were used. The more meaning students gained from text, the more syntactic/semantic cues were used. Also, students would self-correct more if meaning was not only clear, but pre-established by discussion. For example, even in initial lessons when prediscussion took place, Mavis (who tended to use graphic cues and word patterns such as horse/house) made the following miscues and self-corrected (C) on all of them:

> Semantically and syntactically acceptable miscues were used, such as phone/call, don't/do, and little/small.

Text	Rendered
I do not know	I do, I do (C)
Dan is with	Dan as . . . (C)
room of	room for (C)
tell him to take	tell him to keep (C)
Who was	What want (C)

However, for Mavis as for most ABRs, high use of referent words made the text discussion of known concepts elusive; and in these instances semantic cues would not be used, or would be used less effectively.

Comprehension, and thus subsequent use of meaning cues, also seemed inhibited by cultural differences. One ABR teacher dealt with this by prompting students to discuss their values, i.e., by asking them how they would handle situations in the text. The result was that students also became curious about her values. Another ABR teacher tended to be puzzled by student responses to the story, as when he asked what they would do if someone were breaking into a neighbor's house. When students qualified responses, saying that it depended on whether they knew who was breaking in, etc., the teacher indicated acceptances of responses but moralized about the good-neighbor policy. Students' own experiences may have inhibited their understanding of this, and the teacher's attempt at moralizing may have inhibited correct responses to questions on the main idea of the story--which was the importance of being a good neighbor. That is, for some people (including the writers of that particular story) a good neighbor helps you protect your property; for others, a good neighbor does not report you. One student pointed out that, for self-protection, you don't report someone (big) because that person may still live in the neighborhood after you have made the report.

Observers noted that a miscue frequently reflected the fact that a student picked up a word from a line above (never below) the stimulus word. Also, if graphically similar abstract words (there, this, when, then) appeared with any frequency in text, ABRs often would make more miscues than usual on these words.

Syntax occasionally presented problems even for better readers like Al, who had problems with phrases such as, "I am sure Dad would have" (12/8). Al would try to rephrase these grammatical structures several times, trying different intonation patterns, and then read on.

Flashbacks and use of referent words also caused comprehension problems, and may have contributed to inability to use semantic cues. In many cases, when referent words were used, ABRs assumed that there was an extra character or misidentified the character referred to.

Instructional implications that might speak to problems concerned the difference between printed text and ABR oral language. ABRs have been exposed to a limited amount of text. The body-language cues that accompany oral language clarify noun and time references. Many ABRs have not been exposed to enough print to become familiar with varied story structure, either (see "Student Language," p. 169). Two ABR teachers seemed aware of this and read to their students frequently. Students might react more positively to such experiences if they understood why this exposure is important. Students may need to be made aware of differences between print and spoken language, and helped to identify various story structures. It would also seem helpful to expose the students to other value systems and to help them to understand that writers often assume that there is agreement on "middle-class" values.

Prior Teaching

Some ABR miscues seemed to be the result of prior schooling. In this case, what was taught and how it was taught may influence students' use or misuse of available cues. Ned, for example, came from a program where learning high-frequency words was stressed. When asked to read a passage, he read:

> to, the, baby, into, good/got, is/it, home/house. (As he rendered

> these words, he read left to right, then the next line right to left.) (3/5)

His miscues (is/it) often reflected a mis-association of common sight words, not the use of specific cues, since in the next line he would render reverse associations (it/is).

Another student, on his first day of class, indicated a knowledge about some skills and apparently knowledge about his ability:

> After the exercises, I asked him how he would learn a new set of words in five minutes, if he had to. He says, "I would write them down, read them a lot. Say them to myself." I then asked him how he would know how to pronounce them. He says, "I read better than I spell. If the word is there on the page, I can learn it, using syllables, you know, and writing it."

Some ABRs tended to hang on not only to strategies, but also to material acquired in other settings. For example, in May, one tutor asked Mavis what she was carrying in her folder. She had a Laubach (purple) book. She had used this several years ago in an ABR class. This had not been used during the eight months she was in this class.

Prior teaching contributed to the researchers' understanding of students' current views on how they should learn and respond. The almost universal use of spelling an unknown word both to identify and to learn the word must, in part, be attributed to the popularity of the Laubach approach among ABR teachers. Laubach materials are very popular because they provide a very systematic introduction to letter sounds and names. Most ABR teachers believe that they can be very successful using these materials. As one experienced ABR teacher pointed out, few ABRs fail to learn these basic skills from these materials. On the other hand, as one Laubach trainer noted, few ABRs progress beyond Book III--in part, of course, because ABRs believe their needs are met. However, it would be helpful to determine whether the highly stressed decoding approach inhibits use of meaning cues. Laubach trainers often encourage use of meaning approaches (like LEA); and differences in students' progress, when this is stressed, should be explored further.

Students' tendency to respond in a certain fashion may also be influenced by prior teaching. In one class the teacher realized that ABRs had trouble answering questions on text because prior teaching in a decoding program had conditioned them to respond to questions with a word from the text.

However, students may also respond cryptically because of the pace of the class--or perhaps, as noted below, the visual (board) display of their response is the word.

> Mr. A asks for the main idea. Mavis says, "Still born--rest of the children grown loneliness." Ned says, "Man out getting a job to raise his family." Lonnie says, "Sharing." Mr. A asks about their feelings from the story. He asks about feelings. Lonnie says, "Just a feeling you can get inside." Mr. A writes the following words on the board: lonely, sharing, bad. Mr. A asks about their feelings about "People at the door." He gets the responses of trust, jobs. Mavis says, "Lonely." (OBS: She and Lonnie seem to be trying to pick words from the text.) Lonnie says, "Jobs."

Because prior teaching can influence how a student will approach the continuing task of learning to read, a careful assessment of prior learning experiences is needed--both to determine students' commitment to this approach and to determine their potential to benefit from it. Students, as has been noted above, often leave programs because they believe the programs are not meeting their needs. Simply placing a student in a program similar to the one he or she left is inappropriate. Again, in seeking to understand why students approach the oral reading task as they do, knowledge of prior approaches is important.

Prior Schooling

Here *schooling* refers to the K-12 experience. Some ABRs never attended school, or attended erratically through grade three or four; others were in school for twelve years, but never really participated in the learning opportunities because they could not read. Therefore, expected school skills, such as ability to pose a question, to categorize (synonyms, homonyms, etc.), and to deal with abstractions, have not been developed.

One observer suggested that the inability to answer questions might be linked to ABRs' inability to generate questions. To check this, an ABR teacher was asked to try a questioning exercise with students. At first, students did not understand the direction to ask a question. They responded with statements or phrases. After continued practice in this skill, students--perhaps because they understood the direction--did better, but performed erratically, as field notes below indicate:

> The teacher had students combining vocabulary words from stories into sentences. Words used are underlined.
> L-Give me *bills* from the *signs*.
> M-I *signed the bill*.
> M-I *have odd jobs* on the *farm*.
> L-My *job* is on the *farm*.

> M-The farmer have a lot of food down the road.
> L-My food is down the road. (OBS: Lonnie's sentences follow Mavis' patterns.)
> Mr. A : "Let's ask questions on your sentences."
> M-How far down the road?
> L-How much food?
> L-I saw the driver at school. (3/19)

Later that same evening, as the teacher reported on another questioning lesson:

> At this time, I decided to try once again the questioning technique of learning. First, I gave examples and explained use and importance. Then we generated questions on simple items like the chair, weather, poster. They did well! (Is it cold out? What type of wood is this? Is the dog [in the poster] his mama?)
>
> "So," I said, "let's see if we can make up some from the story." Lonnie: "Did he ever go back [for license]? Is the story true? Did he learn to read all the signs?" Mavis: "What are the people's names?" (3/19)

When teachers used terms such as synonym, homonym, contraction, ABRs often indicated that they did not know what these terms meant. Response on a word-association test indicated that ABRs did not tend to organize words into categories. It is suggested here that these skills, when taught in school, promote ability to categorize. That is, another reason why ABRs may initially analyze words using graphophonic cues is that they have had little school experience that might cause them to associate meaning with the stimulus wordd.

Lack of schooling may also have influenced use of semantic cues; students tended to lose meaning when they personalized rather than generalized about concepts in the text. Freedle and Duran (1980) reviewed a number of studies looking at the cognitive consequences of literacy and concluded that in most cultures unschooled people tend to support answers with references to fact, belief, and opinion. People with schooling took theoretical approaches (pp. 225-237). Schooling, it was suggested, provided the opportunity to talk about what was not immediately present. This opportunity did not appear to be frequently available to ABRs, because ABR programs often stress decoding skills, functional reading, and the use of materials related to the ABRs' immediate experience. Teachers of two classes involved in this research did promote discussions related to events outside the ABRs' immediate experiences, and students did show some ability to generalize and moralize about events during these discussions. The more prolonged the discussion, the richer the students' language became; more abstract or generalized concepts emerged. More systematic use of such discussions might be feasible. ABRs need more opportunities to deal with this type of thinking.

The implications of the schooling factor for the type of cue used are especially relevant for the ABR teacher who hopes to promote use of meaning cues. Students are more likely to gain meaning from text if they can respond to questions, generate their own questions (Stauffer, 197), generate meaningful associations to words, and deal with abstract concepts. Adults do not seem to lack these skills as much as they appear to lack facility with these skills. It has been suggested here that this lack of facility is due to lack of opportunity to practice. It would be helpful to establish what effect systematic early instruction in these skills would have on ABRs' subsequent progress and use of meaning cues. It should be stressed that all teachers and tutors provided some instruction in these skills, but that this instruction was not systematic and the goals of the instruction may not have been clear to either teacher or student.

Peer Behavior

Peer behavior had a remarkable impact on both specific miscues and general reading behavior. In one instance, an observer noted that adults also influenced her behavior.

> Al and Roger moved pencils word by word over the papers, whispering but not touching each word as does Frances. Frances gives her paper to me and says, "Will you check it?" I do, and interestingly enough, I find myself reading it in a whisper. (11/18)

In some cases ABR behavior also influenced teacher behavior. For example, one teacher, who did not use spelling when prompting correct responses to text, seemed to pick up to some extent on students' reading behavior, and used this cue with other students:

> (OBS: Initially, Mr. A would tell Horace the word when he missed it, or give the sound association for the initial letter. Horace would then spell the word. Later that night, Mr. A. continued round-robin reading. For Horace, when Horace missed the word bat, Mr. A spelled out the word, wrote it on the board, then said, "It is what a baseball player does to the ball." (10/14)

In some cases, peers directly miscorrected:

> Mavis reads "an old magazine" and is corrected by Roger, who wants "in old magazine." Mavis then renders "who wants any old magazine." Roger corrects again. Finally Mavis says, "who wants in old." (10/23)

Usually peer modeling seemed to influence reading positively:

> (OBS: Mavis read decided/began; seeping/keeping. John, who reads after her, renders decided/de.de and seeping/see. Tonight, John, who usually spells a word to learn it, but not to decode it, follows Mavis' model and spells out several words. Mavis, perhaps influenced by John's model or Mr. A 's specific compliments to John on getting initial sound, gives the initial sound more frequently.) (4/26)

General behavior such as persisting and phrasing was observed to be modeled by peers, and this behavior was picked up very quickly:

> The woman, Frances, corrected Mavis' miscues in phrases. The guy beside Mavis also chimed in to help. They let her alone when she was obviously trying to sound or spell out a word. Mr. A. himself tended to ignore this convention. She seemed to be trying hard. Mr. A tended to continue to give irrelevant but firm "clues." (OBS: Suddenly Mavis started to correct herself in phrases after echoing Frances' corrections in phrases.)

Students' Views of Reading

Students' views of reading are influenced at least in part by current and past instruction, as noted earlier. That is, instruction may account for ABRs' tendency to spell out words, because they are told to do this. Instruction may also promote the use of spelling because spelling out may enhance serial processing or visual organizing. Kolers (1970) indicated that when (proficient) adults had letters flashed at them quickly, they sometimes reported all the letters correctly but in the wrong sequence. Sequence was correct with slower flashes. Kolers suggested that reading was a three-step process in which readers first seemed to form a schema, then ordered the schema, then filled in the schema (p. 92). If this is true for ABRs, the initial scanning (oriented to graphophonic features) needs to be as accurate as possible and spelling will slow down the scanning. Whatever the reason, most ABRs equate learning to read with learning to spell. This view accounts for one of the major differences between the ABR and the CBR. Clay (1977) reported that only a small percentage of children said that they would use spelling to figure out a word; almost 90 percent of the ABRs used this strategy, said they would teach others to read by using it, and said they wanted to learn to spell. This view emerges early and is retained:

> (OBS: Jean said to me later that she felt she needed to learn how to spell; how could she read without spelling? I think this offers insight into her perception of the reading process, i.e., words/letters. Compare this with Al, who realizes he needs English, i.e., grammar, syntax. When Mr. A. asked, Al could not define this further, but I believe it may reflect Al's awareness that he did not understand the earlier present-tense discussion.) (12/8)

One teacher reported on students' responses to the question on what they wanted to learn:

> I asked students to think of: a) what they wanted to learn most of all in here, b) a word they want to learn. Responses: Mavis, spelling, learn aunt. John, spelling and reading, mother. Doug, reading, world. Lonnie, spelling, receive. (2/27)

Even in the final stage of learning to read, ABRs still emphasize spelling, although they obviously find it boring. One student found a way to make it interesting.

> As I near Jan, she tells me she does not have any enthusiasm today. She says the GED seems to be getting smaller and smaller, like in a sunset. I reassure her, etc. She asks if I could give her the spelling quiz and she spell it verbally. We do that.

> For several of the words, she uses sign language to help her spell. Otherwise, she mouths or says the letters. She did very well, having lots of trouble only with thoughtful out of ten words. After, she said it was fun that way. Soon she finished this Henney workbook. (2/12)

The students' views of reading may promote this word-calling versus meaning-getting focus when rendering text. ABRs' spelling errors to some extent reflect their oral reading miscues, i.e., graphic focus, inattention to the vowel, and visual disorganization.

> Ned spells words as Mr. A calls them out to him:
> wings/wink
> river/vrive
> yells/yalls

Students' views did evolve:

> (OBS: Mavis' initial view of reading was that if she could spell she could read. Mr. A 's extensive work on word trees may have influenced her, although he never suggested she use this approach to learn words. Today, she said to Ned, "You know how to learn this word [brothers]? Think of what they call if your mother has sons." (4/81)

Another aspect of students' views of reading is indicated in students' understanding of terminology.

Downing (1972) has suggested that children begin the reading task with cognitive confusion regarding the purpose and task of reading and writing. He states that they "grope their way" out of this by developing a concept of a word, phoneme, syllable, and letters.

ABRs, especially at initial phases of learning to read, obviously had problems with these terms. The spoke of spelling letters, dividing syllables, etc. There was, however, no indication that these misconceptions persisted or negatively influenced learning.

Students' views of reading do evolve, and to some extent they evolve in relation to teaching and progress. For example, while almost all ABRs said that their problem was spelling and they would teach by helping a student spell a word, most ABRs in intermediate and final stages of learning to read indicated that what they had trouble with was understanding the text.

Teachers' Views of Reading

Teachers' views of reading are reflected in their teaching behavior. Their views were apparently influenced by what (model and material) was available, as interview notes indicate.

> Teachers and tutors stress the decoding approach for different reasons.
> Mrs. K : "I've tried it and it works. We have had phonics books."
> Mrs. T : "I was influenced by Karen, who taught the group before me, and she was very into phonics. And I stress learning the small words because they sound very primitive in their reading if they don't know this."

Teachers view their own prompts differently and certainly see themselves as behaving with some consistency. When asked how they prompted students who missed words, they responded:

> Mrs. K : "I am not sure I say anything. Sometimes if they [understand], I don't say anything, or I will say, 'Look at this part.'"
> Mrs. P : "I say, 'Look again,' if they are capable of seeing something. Or I say it sounds like or looks like another word. Or I say, 'Use the context.'"

Mrs. F : "I say, 'Look at the beginning sound, and read to the end of the sentence.' Then I tell them."

Mrs. A : "I supply the word, if it's in a class, or if they are making a lot of miscues. Or I try to prompt the student to use context."

Mrs. B : "I decode sounds. I have them go back to where the word has appeared earlier. I try to tell them or relate it to something they do understand."

Most of these teachers/tutors indicated that meaning was important, but suggested that for the student the initial task was visual recognition of the word. When the word was recognized, these teachers indicated, meaning was the second problem, not the initial solution. Teachers, however, emphasized the importance of comprehension. They stated a need/desire for materials such as a basal, or a variety of material, so "I don't have to scramble," and "materials to help with comprehension strategies." One teacher noted, "I fell down on moving from one thing to the next." One explained that diversity was needed because students needed to feel that they were in the driver's seat.

Teachers seem to have assessed their needs correctly. More systematic instruction is needed, and ABRs do need help with comprehension strategies. The span of ability and skill levels in ABR classes varies widely, and creating materials and adapting methods to meet this diversity is an almost impossible feat for ABR teachers who have a minimum of preparation time. Teachers' own view of reading, reinforced by a variety of sources, is that learning to read is first a visual or decoding task, and that this task can be facilitated by students' use of context. This emphasis may be reinforced by the fact that students can use syntax effectively and can, in some situations, use semantic cues. Thus, teachers may not focus on the weaknesses of ABRs and not monitor the infrequent use of strengths.

Students' Thinking Skills

As noted earlier, ABRs relied heavily upon graphic rather than meaning cues, especially when the meaning of text had not been pre-explored. This suggested to observers that ABRs' general ability to comprehend influenced type of miscue. There were other reasons for considering the impact of ability or thinking skills on reading behavior. Murray (1978) indicated that thinking is very much involved in learning to read, if only because the language instruction stresses concepts, rules, sorting, and ordering. Moreover, ability had to be considered because ABRs and their teachers stated that some ABRs had been in public school classes for slow learners. Teachers did indicate that they felt most ABRs had the ability to reach a pre-GED or higher level. One observer also noted that ABRs' tendency to use only one strategy (graphic cues) in rendering text may have been due to lack of ability to handle two strategies.

It had to be kept in mind that ABRs may feel more secure with graphic information because they are less secure or able in handling meaning. As Smith (1975) points out, "Perception and the effort to comprehend is an inherently risky business; there is always the possibility of error. But because he can choose how much information to seek before making a decision, the individual can to some extent determine how much of a risk of being wrong he will accept."

Even given the context (everyday life experiences) of the passages read, it is possible that ABRs had difficulty dealing with text because themes were often abstract. Consider the discussion from the field notes below:

> Ms. B hands out Imagination books to all. She says, "Yesterday we talked about this word, imagination." She writes it on the board. "We talked about some of your ideas and how you use it. Who uses imagination, say in jobs like actors and actresses? To see what it is, read the top of page 14 to yourselves."
>
> Title, "Is Imagination Always Helpful?"
>
> Ms. B asks, "What does it say so far?" (It discusses proper use of imagination.)
>
> Bob: "It can be harmful."
>
> Ms. B : "Give an example."
>
> Don: "Drinking, drugs."
>
> Ms. B : "I don't mean 'outside' help, just your imagination. Has your imagination ever gotten you in trouble?"
>
> Jim: "All the time."
>
> Now Joy reads out loud on page 15 a brief story entitled "Prize-Winning Liar," after they have read it to themselves. (It is about a young kid who lies about everything and brags, and does not do most of his schoolwork. He wrote a story for class that was really a lie, but he won a contest with it as most imaginative story.)
>
> Ms. B : "What is his main problem?"
>
> Woman: "He makes up lies so as not to do things."
>
> Don: "Maybe he does not know how to do these things."
>
> Ms. B : "He can. He wrote a story and it won a prize. Are there any good ways he uses lying?" (Lying is not discussed as a form of imagination per se.)
>
> Joy: "By writing." Ms. B writes lies, excuses, writing on the board. (3/4)

ABRs here, as in most discussions of text, had problems with the theme. This may explain, in part, why ABRs do not gain meaning from text and, thus, make as many miscues on final as on initial portions of text.

ABRs' problems with abstract ideas seem to be general (not related to immediate reading comprehension). Discussions based on oral input reflected limited use of abstract words:

> The topic for discussion for today is "How wars and football are alike and different." Ms. K wrote the following student

comments on the board:

Alike	Not Alike
attack	war weapons
uniforms	football score
crack up on people	football people watch
(hurt each other)	football time clock
two sides (teams)	ending
gain land/territory	

> Mark does not understand what Ms. K. is saying. He asks her to clarify what she is saying, "so we can catch the significance of what you say." Ms. K. wants to know what the authors of this story are saying about football and war. (3/17)

Most of the terms used by ABRs related to concrete items. ABRs rarely generated abstract words. Use of abstract words immediately resulted in personalizations. It seems to be the case for ABRs that there is a world of things and self; and this may be inadvertently prompted by teachers' attempts to motivate:

> Mr. A is asking students to generate ideas related to travel.
> Mr. A tried to give strategy, asking them to think of selves as traveling, even in Richmond.
> Suitcase (M), bus station (M), depot (M). Mr. A then prompted. Finally R says, "Hotels, patience; you need a lot of patience to travel." Mr. A , "I agree as some . . . " (2/12)

ABRs quickly give associations when the referent is a noun (e.g., bus). When the referent is not a noun, or is abstract like travel, responses are slower, less frequent, and usually nouns.

Even in dealing with comprehension questions, the focus is on relating to the concrete. This is perhaps indicated by ABRs' responses to a teacher who asked them to explain what was meant by the title of a story.

> (OBS: Adults tend to answer with selected facts, not themes;

> also, in the answer to "What does the title 'Everyone Cries Sometimes' mean?", adults seem to skip a level (they feel that it's understood that "all cry," and go on to explain on a concrete basis). The answer they give is that "some people cry inside." The point of the answer seemed to be to deal with the fact--one can't see them crying. The point of the question seemed to be a generalization: "All people have problems." The given answer seemed a first step toward this, but the teacher did not lead the students to make this generalization.)

As discussed earlier, however, ability to deal with abstractions may well reflect the lack of prior schooling of some ABRs. Lack of experience in dealing with abstractions would for ABRs, perhaps inevitably, result in lack of willingness to risk dealing with abstract concepts. Adult learners are often described as craftsmen in their approach to a task; that is, they prefer to go slowly and to be sure that they are right, rather than make an error. They are reluctant to take a risk and self-correct. Yet, ABRs may feel less secure with meaning cues, and this may be due to general ability.

Because ability was important, but was not a trait easily assessed from class behavior, other ways to assess this trait were considered. Measures of learning potential were reviewed to locate some measures of adult ability. The problem, as Knox (1977) has indicated, was that "at present, there is no instrument or efficient procedure to estimate adult learning ability" (p. 417). This situation is especially applicable to ABRs because scores on available ability tests would inevitably reflect reading ability or school and life experience. Measures of intelligence, at any rate, seemed inappropriate, for reasons suggested by Labouvie-Vief (1976):

a. "Knowledge about intelligence has contributed little toward . . . the optimization of individual instruction" (p. 31).

b. "The assumption that intelligence and learning ability are related is simplistic and unverified" (p. 38).

c. "Current norms (used in various intelligence tests) do not include representative norms for adults growing up in different cultural milieux" (p. 55).

Labouvie-Vief concluded that performance on intelligence tests seemed based on strategies of abstraction, organization, and non-verbal elaboration, which in turn related to life experiences. In addition, as Bickley, Dinnan, and Bickley (1970) point out, these strategies also seem specifically related to school attendance. Since many ABRs often limited their experiences because of their inability to read and their pattern of school attendance was considered more variable than that of the population usually included in norming of ability and intelligence tests, other measures were sought.

A simple task that seemed to provide data on ability to categorize and deal with abstractions was the word-association test. In this task, thirty words are read aloud, one at a time, to the ABR, who responds with a word associated with the stimulus word.

Responses to word-association tests, when categorized as syntagmatic or paradigmatic, are often used as indicators of ability. A paradigmatic response includes associations illustrating use of superordinate (apple/fruit); coordinate (arm/leg); contrast (black/white); or part/whole (body/leg). All other responses are categorized as syntagmatic or klang associations, i.e., rhyming words (Bickley, Bickley, Cowart, 1970).

Students with high paradigmatic responses tend to score high on reading and intelligence tests. Students with high syntagmatic responses tend to score low on these tests. This is understandable in view of Brown and Berkos' (1960) point that changes in word association from syntagmatic to paradigmatic may result from the learner's organization of vocabulary into syntactic classes or parts of speech. Obviously also learner experience with expected response patterns and experience with organizing versus personalizing responses would be related to schooling. However, partially to check ABRs' tendency to personalize rather than organize/abstract even on the word level, and to provide some measure of behavior associated with ability, all ABRs were given a word-association task to check use of paradigmatic/syntagmatic responses.

ABRs' responses on the word-association test tended to be klang associations (book/look; toy/boy) or syntactic responses (time/flies; charm/charming). Beginning and intermediate ABRs did not differ greatly in number of paradigmatic responses or in type of responses. Advanced ABRs tended to give more paradigmatic (18-21) and fewer klang responses. No ABR scored above 25 on this 30-item word-association test.

Recent research at the University of Georgia under the direction of Dinnan has indicated that ABRs can improve their ability to respond paradigmatically when trained, and that such improvement correlates with reading achievement. This measure, then, does not reflect a stable, unchanging potential. It does seem important to consider training other aspects of ABRs' ability to categorize, generalize, and abstract. Again, as field notes indicate, ABR teachers are attempting to do this. However, use of abstract concepts in teaching ABRs should be monitored to see that the teaching 1) develops ability to deal with abstractions, generalizations, and categories, and 2) avoids instruction heavily based on abstractions, generalizations, and categories at least until this ability is promoted.

It appears that much current ABR instruction is based on abstractions. A study by Rozin, Poritsky, and Sotsky (1977) suggests that the abstract nature of the phoneme is what makes learning to read by a decoding system difficult. They successfully taught second-grade children, who had reading disabilities, 30 different Chinese characters in from two and one-half to five and one-half hours of tutoring. They recommended that an intermediate unit such as the syllable be used in teaching beginning readers. This makes even more sense for slow learners, who by definition would have more difficulty with abstract concepts. It may be wise to reconsider the current stress on phonemes for ABRs.

Implications for instruction here overlap guidelines suggested when schooling skills are considered. That is, reading instruction for ABRs should include traditional school activities that promote categorization, generalization, and abstraction.

Student Language

Reading obviously involves language, and this involvement can be clarified by examining miscues. Weber (1970) points out that syntactic miscues show that readers expect certain sentence types and turns of phrase.

ABRs, when only prior text is considered, do make maximum use of syntax; when prior and subsequent text is considered, use of syntactic cues drops considerably (see Table I). The question is how much of this inattention to syntactic cues is due to language performance. Raisner (1978) studied underachieving college readers. The pattern of miscues found for these college students was similar to the ABRs' pattern here. For both groups, over 90 percent of miscues had some graphic similarity, and the semantic and syntactic acceptability of miscues was low. Raisner suggested that this pattern was due to poor language performance among the college readers.

Initial evaluations of ABRs might have led to the conclusion that the language of ABRs was limited. Cox (1976) found that the syntactic competence of adults reading below grade seven was less advanced than that of literate adults. Reasons for such a lack of competence can be found. Interviews with ABRs involved in this study showed that their opportunities for verbal interaction were often limited. Television shows preferred by ABRs had less verbal models (i.e., were more action-oriented); broad social interactions at work sites appeared to be limited, as were social activities (i.e., they were places where the ABR might play the role of listener: watching television with neighbors or with family and attending church).

However, field notes indicated that the language performance of ABRs may have been a function of the situation or task. Language in samples from ABRs' responses to tasks requiring the developing of a sentence or story tended to be limited. Yet language samples gathered during class discussions, especially when peers modeled complex language patterns, tended to demonstrate the ABRs' competence with such patterns.

Certainly, language behavior among ABRs varied. For example, ABRs were asked to tell a story about an accident they had experienced. A story below from Bea and one from Jim (both ABRs at the initial stage of learning), and one from Terry (at the final stage), demonstrate differences. Bea seems reluctant to respond, as field notes indicate:

> Bea: "What did you mean, 'accidents'? There are a lot of accidents--like cars, (laughing) getting pregnant."
> Tutor: "Any kind you want to tell me about."
> Bea: "Oh, my brother hit me in my eye" (still laughing).
> Tutor: "All right, tell me about your brother hitting you in your eye."
> Bea: "Naw, I ain't telling that. He whipped me. Naw, I'ma stop that stuff."
>
> Observer: "Have you ever had an accident?"
> Jim: "Have I? Sure, two of'em."
> Observer: "Could you tell me about it?"
> Jim: "Well, once I was on Monument Avenue; it was Franklin; we were down there. I had just put a pair of brand-new $600 wheels on my car, and out of nowhere this lady crashes into the rear end of my car and totals it. And then I brought my Trans Am and sued the lady. Ow, my back still hurts."
>
> Terry: "Ah, let's see, what's the last accident I seen? I seen two cars, one was running the light and one wasn't. And the one that ran the light, they ran right into each other right at the intersection. One just, the guy on the right, just didn't have the patience to yield, just ran right smack into this other guy. That's the way it went. I didn't stay there and really see what happened afterwards, but I know who was in the right and who was in the wrong. That was all I needed to know." (3/31)

Bea's response, like those of other ABRs at initial stages of instruction, seemed to display a lack of willingness to respond, or of understanding of how to respond, rather than lack of ability. Jim, again, like most ABRs, tended to limit his statements to matters of immediate concern.

Terry, an advanced ABR, tended to generalize and moralize more--and, interestingly enough, also seemed aware of how deeply he was considering the situation ("That was all I needed to know").

When asked to develop a story, ABRs tended to fall into listing events:

> Mr. A suggested the students tell a story. Al started: "Today was a lovely day." Bill (after 20 seconds): "I washed my car today." Mr. A : "I went to two classes today." Al: "I did two jobs today." Bill: "The hostages had a nice day to travel. The hostage's family must have been very happy."
> inside you know what's going on (10/28)

When teachers attempted to promote use of complex sentences, ABRs demonstrated greater competence:

> Mr. A prompts Ned: "I think trucking is important."
> Mr. A prompts Ned: "'Cause it's all over."
> Mavis: "I think train, train can carry more than a truck. It have a freezer department." (Mr. A prompts, trains.)
> Mavis: "Aren't as good as used to." (Mr. A. prompts.)
> Mavis: "'Cause I knew when I was on a farm we had to ship out animals and things on train." ("Um-hm," Mr. A. prompts.)
> Mavis: "If it was still in good use, train station would still be there on Broad . . . ." (3/17

When ABRs think that a longer response is required, they can indeed provide one, although they return quickly to cryptic phrases.

> Mr. A asks for another sentence. Lonnie says, "Another day." Mr. A tells him that it can be the title, but it is not long enough to be a sentence. Ned says, "It's good to get out on the ranch and relax and get your thoughts together." Mavis says, "He is relaxing and letting the animals relax, so he can get a start in the morning."
> Mr. A moves on to repeated readings. Mr. A asks, "What were they afraid of?"
> Mavis says, "People might rob them."
> Ned says, "Afraid for your family." (2/12)

Mavis and Lonnie tended to use simple sentences unless the teacher prompted or a peer modeled a different pattern. For example, when Mr. A. asked them to develop sentences for the words bicycle, airplane, truck:

> Mavis: "My son learnt me to ride the bicycle."
> Lonnie: "The airplane is moving. Park the truck beside the station."
>
> (OBS: Seldom, even though they generate plural words, do they use plurals in a sentence. The new student, Sam: "I was reading on the basic nails used in woodworking." Mavis then said, "I was reading a book that tells you all about nails.")
>
> (OBS: They even follow peer language models! What does lack of model mean?) (2/12)

The language of ABRs, as observed in class when discussions were brief, may lack transition words, but these are conveyed by gesture and intonation. Also, ABRs' pauses may indicate a desire to be brief--to stop at any given point. For many adults, transition words not only clarify, but provide oral indicators that they are going to keep on talking. The example of ABR language below is typical:

> Dana is asked to tell a story about a picture: "I guess he asked him to let him see his driver's license . . . I don't know. I think he wonders what's going on. He be going 80 mph in 50-mile zone." (OBS: She went on modeling three exchanges of a verbal interaction and then giggled. All sentences were about five words long.)
>
> (OBS: Al approached the picture very differently, personalizing: "You were running 50 mph in a 30-mph zone and you passed me and you missed a yield sign.") (2/12)

It is suggested here that ABRs have demonstrated the type of language performance needed to make greater use of syntactic cues. What interferes with use of syntax may be the ABRs' limited opportunity to exercise their language skills.

In any event, understanding of the task, familiarity with the requirements, and attitude toward task play a role in language behavior. Bea, for example, independently (asking only how to spell words) wrote these stories:

> The Great Escape
>
> The man was in jail. He was cold and hungry. The cell was dirty and wet. He was crying, "Let me go home! Oh, let me go home."
>
> The door opened to the big room. It was time. He was going to the electric chair. He was only twenty-four and sentenced for murder! (Bea, 6/81)
>
> The bat ate the cat
> Then he ate the rat
> Then he got fat. (Bea, 6/81)

It is not clear whether, after eight months, Bea had developed a sense of story or a willingness to deal with the task of writing a story. It is clear that performance can vary greatly for individuals. There seem to be three implications for instruction: 1) more opportunity for ABRs to develop their language skills should be provided; 2) because the abstract nature of the content of material seems to present greater difficulty than the syntax, more attention needs to be paid to thinking skills (see above); and 3) because ABRs' language performance in regard to structure of written text seems limited, it would be helpful to explore story structure as an aid to writing.

The vocabulary of ABRs has not been considered closely here, but observation again suggests that vocabulary is limited. Even ABRs in the final stage of learning to read often asked for explanations of what might be considered common adult words, e.g., chest of drawers, despise, proceed. As explained in Chapter III, vocabulary development is needed.

Overall, factors considered by observers point to two major needs: 1) the need to refine instruction and 2) the need to promote ABRs' thinking skills.

Student Perception of Crucial Factors

Students, when asked how they had learned to read the way they did, tended to agree with teachers' perceptions of general factors influencing their reading: attendance and attending behavior. ABRs stated that they would be reading better if they had stayed in school, or if they had paid more attention in school. To attempt to determine why they used the reading strategies they did, the researchers asked them why they read the way they did (i.e., "sounded out" a word or spelled a word). Most responded that it was the way they were taught or that it was the way someone (usually at home) helped them.

Adults, as a spontaneous conversation recorded in the field notes below illustrates, place a great deal of emphasis on home support:

> The teacher is doing a form of DRTA. They discuss the story.
> John says, "It's like being kicked out of the world; you're in half of it. It makes you feel dumb. It helps if you face the fact. My parents tell me that's half of it."
> Mavis: "She might have a lot of problems. She says she's not learning. Only person can't learn has many things on their minds."
> John: "I think there's a lot to if not getting enough help. Like if your mother is too busy and then it's time for bed and you get up and your work's not done. I can go home and try to

> get someone to help; and they put it off and put it off. It kind of aggravates you."
>
> Mavis: "Yeah, kind of make you feel let down." (4/21)

Frances, Al, and Roger, who were reading on a higher level, all indicated that they had someone at home who helped. Frances had a son attending college, who told her the words or sounds. Al and Roger also had children who helped them by saying and spelling words to them. Others, like John and Mavis, did not have consistent outside support. Some ABRs, such as Bea and Don or Maxine and Fred, would get together after class and help each other. It appeared from ABRs' comments that the helped person told the helping person what to do; that is, the ABR would request specific forms of help. Thus, outside input is not necessarily a controlling factor in type of miscue to be expected. This does suggest, however, that ABRs might be guided in the type of help they could request from these sources.

Students' outside experiences with print and their attitudes toward learning to read did seem to be strongly influenced by the presence or absence of home support. Students who had outside support tended to point out that they tried to read signs on the way to class or that they worked on assignments at home. It seems that the possible benefits of a home liaison for each ABR should be explored.

ABRs indirectly indicated the importance of fellow ABRs. Prior life experiences and present life situations of ABRs in relation to peers seemed to influence willingness to take risks. Adults who were with groups of peers in which they were the more experienced or articulate members sometimes seemed less willing to take risks in rendering text. Perhaps this is because peers would tease higher-achieving peers when they made miscues. But experienced/articulate members did contribute or take more risks during verbal discussion and when rendering text in one-to-one testing situations. Risk taking was obviously intertwined with other factors discussed above. As used here, "taking a risk" means trying although the outcome is uncertain. For ABRs, this meant willingness to expose their attempts. The difference observed between the apparent high and low risk-taking behavior may simply have been the difference between the ABRs' feelings of acceptance from the observing peer, teacher, or researcher.

Summary

All the various factors affecting reading behavior that were identified by teachers, consultants, tutors, observers, and ABRs provided guidelines for instruction. It is suggested that guidelines for instructional formats for ABRs be flexible to accommodate ABRs' views on how they should learn and be systematic in providing for consistency of goal and teaching activity. In addition, there appears to be a need to enhance the thinking skills of ABRs if use of semantic and syntactic cues is to be promoted.

V. Adult Beginning Readers and Adult Development

One of the most striking features of adult basic reading classes is the wide range of ages found in a single instructional situation. This contrasts with the typical school grouping, which closely correlates age with grade level. Below are two examples of the variety of adults often found in adult basic reading classes. Class 1:

> The director leads us to the area for the beginning adult reading class. She introduces us to the teacher and reminds the class that these are the observers from the project that they were told about a few days ago. She says we will be observing and writing. The teacher, an attractive young woman, neatly dressed in a blouse and skirt with heeled sandals, reminds the class that the lesson starts at 8:45, and gets all the students to sit around the tables. Only Bob chooses to sit out of the group at a desk.
>
> The class, as a group, seemed like young adults--in their late teens or early 20s--except for Ralph. It was an integrated group. Mae had a stylish hair curl and was dressed in a freshly pressed long fuchsia straight skirt and matching plaid blouse, and was carrying a new pocketbook, as if she were going to work as a clerk-secretary. Carl was a short, slightly built young man in green cotton pants and a green striped T-shirt, and was wearing basketball shoes. Shirley had her black hair pulled back severely from her face, and wore a black flowered dress. She kept her head down during the entire class and talked to no one. Ronnie and Jonie were dressed casually in blue jeans and T-shirts, Jonie's resembling a basketball shirt. Sherry, sipping a Nehi at her work area, had a close-cropped "natural" with a part and a blue hair clip. She wore faded jeans, low on her hips, with a white shirt hanging over her pregnant figure. Ralph, the oldest class member, with a perpetual smile on his face, wore glasses and an identification bracelet. He also had a briefcase beside his chair. He wore a sport shirt and dark pants. "Prissy" had dyed hair and wore jeans.
>
> Betsy sat at a small table beyond the large work table. She did not participate in the class, except when Bob came over to talk to her and possibly share his work or help her. (OBS: I learned later that she was a nonreader and extremely sensitive

to this status. Nonreaders usually work alone in another room. The teacher worked with her individually during class.) (9/18)

Class 2:

We are introduced to this class as helpers. The teacher fills us in with some information about the class. The class is made up of middle-aged adults. Casey is about a 30-year-old man, quite husky, and has strapped glasses. Wilson is about 35 years old with a partial black beard, looks very tough, and casts a wary eye at me while I'm writing. Annie is a very, very heavy woman, from 40 to 50 years of age, who has 12 children. One son was arrested last week and is in jail now. Her husband "fusses at her goin' to school." She hasn't gotten much sleep lately because of her son. She started in Skill Book I this term and is now in Skill Book III. Patrick is about 40, missing some teeth, and physically seems on the downgrade, but has a friendly sense of humor. He works as a part-time custodian. He can decode words, but cannot comprehend anything he decodes. Jackie is a 55- or 60-year-old woman with a language/speech defect, who comes on a very long bus trip to get to the center. Maurice is 45 or 50 years of age, with a major slouch and a crippled hand. Sue, who is about 45 years old, has a cane and comes only to math now because of the distance and time.

(OBS: I wonder how these adults, now in their middle age, have coped with life without being able to read. Reading could affect how they survive as adults, i.e., as spouses, as parents, as workers, but also their leisure time, socializing and personal development.) (12/9)

The above observations raised many questions about these adult beginning readers and adult learning in general. For example: do differences among ages indicate differences among adult-development phases within an ABR class? To state the question differently, does lack of reading achievement in instructional situations restrict adults at certain developmental tasks? How does the developmental phase of an adult influence the behavior patterns and attitudes the adult brings to the learning process? What are the implications for effective instruction?

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyze the behaviors and attitudes of ABRs from the perspective of adult development, adult consciousness, and life-span developmental psychology. This approach is based on previous research indicating that "adulthood is not a plateau; rather it is a dynamic and changing time" (Gould, 1978, p. 14).

Adult Development: Theories, Research, and Questions

M. S. Knowles in 1970 called for adult educators to develop instructional programs based on andragogy in contrast to pedagogy. Andragogy is "the art and science of helping adults learn" (Knowles, 1970, p. 38). Andragogy assumes that 1) the major sources of self-fulfillment for an adult are his or her activities as a spouse, parent, worker, and citizen; 2) an adult relies more heavily on his or her personal experience as a source of knowledge than on the authority of others; 3) the developmental tasks and phases of adulthood affect adults' readiness to learn; and 4) adult orientation to learning is problem-oriented for immediate application, as opposed to subject-centered for postponed application.

Knowles cited Robert J. Havinghurst's adult phases and tasks for illustrative purposes. In 1961, Havinghurst, a pioneer in developmental psychology, suggested that developmental tasks derived from social roles for three phases of adulthood. These are presented in Chart 2 to provide one model of adult developmental tasks.

A tentative analysis of the ethnographic data in terms of career development, adult development, and life-span psychology is possible because of the growth of theories and models resulting from research on adults. A variety of disciplines (especially sociology, psychology, social psychology, and psychoanalysis) and a breadth of research techniques have extended this area of knowledge in the last ten years.

There is general agreement among social scientists that the adult phase of the life span differs qualitatively from the juvenile phase. Meaningful distinctions among adults have been found between age clusters of twenty-year periods, whereas comparable differences among children separated by a few years have been identified. As Chart 3 suggests, recent research indicates a general consensus on three adult phases: early adulthood, middle adulthood, and late adulthood. (Stevens-Long, 1979, p. 1.)

The developmental tasks within each adult phase differ with each study cited in Chart 3 and with the primary discipline or conceptual framework used for analysis. For example, Daniel J. Levinson, in The Seasons of a Man's Life (1978), describes and analyzes the biographical interviews of 40 men of varied backgrounds aged 35 to 45 years. These men were representative volunteers in four selected occupational groups: hourly workers, executives, biologists, and novelists. Of the workers, five did not complete high school; three completed high school; and two had some college experience. Besides the five hourly workers who did not complete high school, one executive and one novelist had not completed high school. Although the research focus was on the midlife decade, the study suggests a theory of adult development from the 20s until the late 40s from a social-psychological orientation.

Levinson's findings indicate that the life cycle may be divided into

CHART 2

HAVINGHURST'S ADULT DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

Early Adulthood (Ages 18 to 30)

- Selecting a mate
- Learning to live with a marriage partner
- Starting a family
- Rearing children
- Managing a home
- Getting started in an occupation
- Taking on civic responsibility
- Finding a congenial social group

Middle Age (Ages 30 to 55)

- Achieving adult civic and social responsibility
- Establishing and maintaining an economic standard of living
- Helping teenage children to become responsible and happy adults
- Developing adult leisure activities
- Relating to one's spouse as a person
- Accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age
- Adjusting to aging parents

Later Maturity (Ages 55 and over)

- Adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health
- Adjusting to retirement and reduced income
- Adjusting to the death of a spouse
- Establishing an explicit affiliation with one's age group
- Meeting social and civic obligations
- Establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements

Havinghurst, R. J., Developmental tasks and education. New York: David McKay Company, 1961.

eras: childhood and adolescence (ages 0-22); early adulthood (17-45); middle adulthood (40-65); and late adulthood (after 60). An era is broader than biological, personality, and career development, and may be referred to as the "character of living" (p. 18). The research indicated that development is closely linked to age and that transition periods link the eras to provide continuity. During each era, men build individual life structures that involve their socio-cultural world, certain aspects of themselves, and their participation in the world. The developmental periods in early and middle adulthood are summarized in Chart 3.

Levinson further suggests that the life structure evolves through a relatively orderly sequence during the adult years. Each stable period has developmental tasks that are crucial to that period and to the individual life structure. For example, the first adult life structure, from about 22 to 28, is entering the adult world. Here, a young man has two tasks: to explore the possibility for adult living by keeping his options open and avoiding strong commitments, and to create a stable life structure to "make something of his life." The major tasks are forming a dream, mentor relationships, an occupation, love relationships, and marriage and family. In the Age Thirty Transition, the provisional status ends, and a man may make important new choices or reaffirm old choices. This second life structure persists until about age 40, when a man tries to establish a place in society and works at "making it." In the process, he becomes his own man. During the Mid-Life Transition (40-45), a man questions his existing life structure, and neglected parts of self seek expression and stimulate modification of his life structure. The

CHART 3

PHASES OF ADULT DEVELOPMENT *

Bromley (1974)		Levinson et al. (1974)		Gould (1972)		Havinghurst (1972) and Neugarten (1974)	
Juvenile Phase							
0-11	Childhood					0-6	Early Childhood
						6-12	Middle Childhood
11-16	Adolescence	16-20	Leaving home	16-18	Ambivalence	13-18	Adolescence
16-20	Transition	20-29	Getting into the world	18-22	Leaving home	18-35	Early Adulthood
				22-28	Establishment		
Adult Phase							
20-25	Transition						
25-40	Middle adulthood	30-34	Settling down	29-32	Thirties transition		
		35-39	BOOM	33-40	Adulthood		
40-60	Late adulthood	40-42	Midlife transition	40-43	Midlife transition	35-60	Middle adulthood
		43-50	Restabilization	43-50	Midlife		
60-65	Preretirement			51-60	Flowering		
65-70	Retirement					60+	Later maturity
70+	Old age					55-75	Young-old
Terminal Stage						75+	Old-old

---

* Stevens-Long, Judith. Adult life developmental processes. Palo Alto, California: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1979, p. 17.

developmental tasks include assessment of the young/old polarity, and of other polarities such as destruction/creation, masculine/feminine, and attachment/separateness. The life structure may be modified in terms of the dream, relationships with young adults, and marriage.

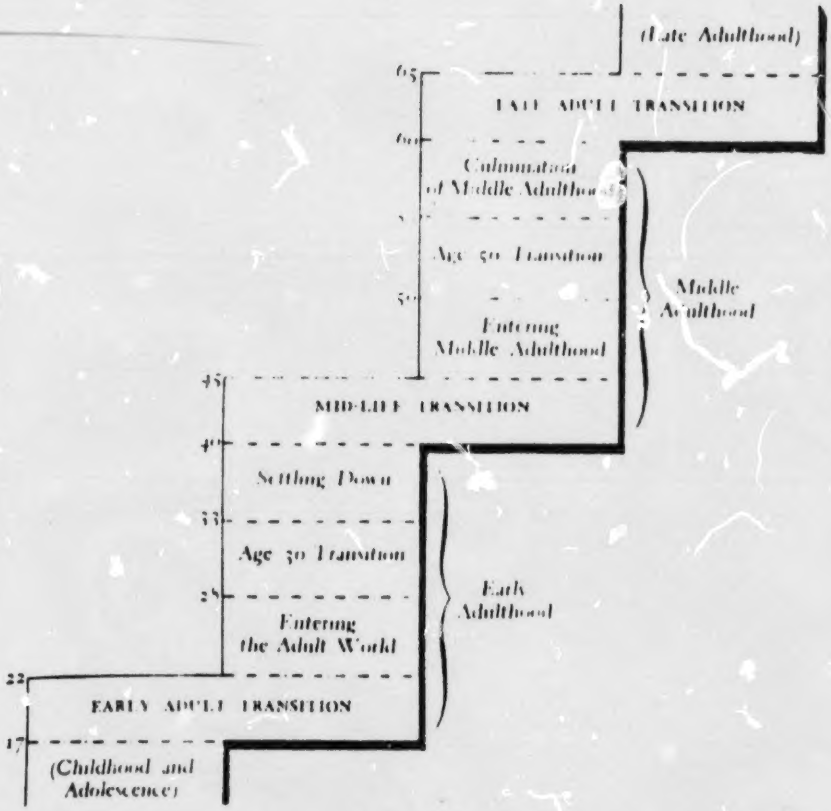
Roger L. Gould's study Transformations: Growth and Change in Adult Life (1978) analyzes adult development from a psychiatric perspective. The findings suggest that adult consciousness evolves from ages 16 to 50 as individuals accept a fuller and more independent self and live in a world generated from personal experience instead of "protective devices." Protective devices are used to overcome feelings of vulnerability derived from childhood consciousness. Unless the transformation from childhood consciousness is achieved, the individual limits his or her love relationships and does not fully realize his or her talents (Gould, 1978, pp. 18-19).

Gould's research is based on a survey taken of 524 adults, aged 16-50, to test hypotheses on age-related problems found in patients at the UCLA Psychiatric Outpatient Clinic. The data, on both men and women who were patients and non-patients, suggested that four major concerns, each with additional components, were related to age periods. In other words, during each age period, adults were reality-testing or trying to resolve a concern.

The major concerns were false assumptions derived from childhood consciousness. From 18 to 22, the false assumption to be tested with adult reality is "We'll always live with our parents and be their child" (Gould, 1978, p. 39). During the 20s, with the developmental tasks of vocational choice and determining an adult's role as a spouse and parent, the false assumption is that parents will always be there to help when the young

CHART 4

LEVINSON'S DEVELOPMENTAL PERIODS IN EARLY AND MIDDLE ADULTHOOD *


(Late Adulthood)
65
LATE ADULT TRANSITION
60
Culmination of Middle Adulthood
55
Age 50 Transition
50
Entering Middle Adulthood
Middle Adulthood
45
MID-LIFE TRANSITION
40
Settling Down
33
Age 30 Transition
28
Entering the Adult World
Early Adulthood
22
EARLY ADULT TRANSITION
17
(Childhood and Adolescence)

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*Levinson, D.J. The Seasons of A Man's Life. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978, p. 57

adult cannot do something on his or her own, or that doing it the parental way with perseverance and will power will bring results. During the 30s, when adults are usually confused in their roles, the false assumption is that the parental, simplified version of a complicated inner reality is correct, or that life is simple and controllable and that there are no coexisting contradictory forces within an individual. During the early 40s, when adults usually experience discontent and an urging to determine what their lives have been and could be, the false assumption is that there is no real death or evil in the world.

A third orientation to adult development has come from a group of researchers at the University of Chicago. This group included at different times Erik Erikson, Robert Havinghurst, and Bernice Neugarten. Although some investigators were interested in the relationship of environmental forces to adult development, one of the group's more important contributions has been "disengagement theory." One postulate of disengagement theory is that as people age, they can come to deal with events more abstractly. "Interiority" is a concern for one's own inner life and feelings and dependence on one's own ideas and experience (rather than on the opinions of others or on present environmental circumstances and events). Although some writers suggest that this theory has been disproved, most investigators agree that, while it does not adequately explain normal aging, it does seem to fit some individuals who decrease their commitment to external events and shift in motivation or meaning (Stevens-Long, 1979, pp. 56-57).

For example, Robert C. Peck (1968, pp. 88-92) delineated more specifically psychological developments in middle age and in old age, using concepts such as socializing versus sexualizing, ego differentiation versus work-role preoccupation, and mental flexibility versus mental rigidity. Raymond C. Kuhlen (1968, pp. 115-136) hypothesized that the dominant motivating force in the adult years changes from growth-expansion, leading to a succession of goals, to anxiety, leading to handicapping, protective, defensive techniques. Kuhlen cited the work of Charlotte Buhler, whose clinical findings suggest that an individual's own assessment of whether he or she has reached fulfillment is important in age adjustment.

Other possibilities for interpreting adult phases have come from dialectical models that suggest that an active, changing universe and the self's interactions with it are the basis for all true developmental changes. Examples of such theories are Erikson's Eight Stages of Life, Jean Piaget's cognitive development, and Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development. Each theorist believes that the sequence of stages is invariant and hierarchical (Stevens-Long, pp. 58-66).

Insights, concepts, and hypotheses may also come from those studies that focus on women's vocational and developmental processes. Carol K. Tittle and Elenor R. Denker, in *Returning Women Students in Higher Education* (1980), reviewed research on women in vocational and developmental areas. Research suggests that career and vocational development theories, such as Donald Super's theory, are inadequate to explain women's career and vocational decisions. Super's theory postulates stages of career choice: crystallization (ages 14-18), specification (18-21), implementation (21-24), stabilization (25-35), and consolidation (after 35). The choice of career at each of these stages relies heavily on an individual's self-concept, which also is changing. Tittle and Denker summarize research on women's career patterns that indicates that educational attainment, marriage status, husband's occupation, and number of children are primary variables in differentiating among vocational choices. "Role conflicts and role overload are important concepts for extending career theory to encompass the adult roles upon which women's career choices are contingent" (Tittle and Denker, 1980, p. 101).

Tittle and Denker also summarize research on the development of adult women and contrast it with research on adult development constructed mainly on the basis of the male experience, such as Levinson's work. Research on women demonstrates the changing life cycle of contemporary women and the identity issues most women must face again when the responsibilities of parenthood are no longer demanding. While men have been able to separate their home life from their work life almost completely, there has been strong interaction between the homemaker, parent, and vocational roles for women (Tittle and Denker, 1980, pp. 109-120).

In summary, this chapter describes and analyzes the behavior and attitudes of ABRs from the perspective of adult development, career development, and life-span developmental psychology. The analysis focuses on four questions:

1. Do differences in age, from the teens to the forties, indicate differences in developmental phase among ABRs?
2. How does the developmental phase of an adult affect the behavior patterns and attitudes the adult brings to the learning process?

3. What are the implications for effective instruction?
4. What are the implications for research?

Snapshots of Adult Basic Readers

The most appropriate way to present the data was through "snapshots" of 14 ABRs. These 14 were selected because the ethnographic data and the testing data were complete enough to reveal patterns of behaviors and attitudes. In addition, the 14 adults ranged in age from 18 to 43; eight were male and six were female. The 14 adults were from two different centers and were enrolled in four different instructional classes.

An Adult Snapshot combines several sources of data. Ethnographic observations were selected to provide a picture of the process of learning to read. Other ethnographic observations were selected to illustrate examples of behaviors and attitudes that the ABR brought to the process of learning to read. All ethnographic observations are dated. In addition to the ethnographic data, an Adult Sketch is given. Sources for the Adult Sketch included enrollment records; interviews with teachers, tutors, and staff; conversations with the adult; observations during the academic year of the study; and the periodic ethnographic staff discussions of each adult. Although many of the data were on the process of learning to read, only those aspects relevant to adult development were summarized in the Adult Sketch. Names of all adults have been coded.

After each Adult Snapshot, an analysis is given. To identify patterns among the fourteen adults, a summary chart is presented. A qualitative assessment of each adult in terms of adult consciousness (Gould, 1978), dominant motivation (Kuhlen, 1968), and adult development for men (Levinson, 1978) and for women (Tittle and Denker, 1980) is provided in Chart 5, Adult Development and General Reading Behaviors of ABRs. The last column of that chart presents a qualitative assessment of each ABR's general reading behaviors as inconsistent, minimal, regressive, or progressive; these categories were developed from the data and are explained below.

1. Snapshot of Jim

Field Notes

The teacher asked the students to create an ending to this story. The students said Mr. Carter owed money to the Mafia. They said he owed a large amount of money. They said the Mafia was after him. Robert injects, "Royal got caught." (OBS: Referring to the boating accident that happened here a number of years ago.) When someone asks what is the Mafia, Jim explains that it is a group of people you can borrow $500 from but will have to pay back $1000. Robert says they would hold his family for ransom.

The teacher wants to know how they would end the story as to what Mr. Carter would do. The students gave the following responses: "He was scared." "Made up a plan or a scheme." "Acted like he was going on a fishing trip." "Took his motor off his boat and sold it to get some money." "He let the boat go on off to sea." "Then had $200." "Took a plane and flew off to Texas." "Meanwhile Mrs. Carter calls the police and reports her husband missing." "Men from the insurance company come to investigate." "Insurance people came. Mrs. Carter was gone." "She had gone to meet her husband."

Interpretive Aside: Jim and Rick responded well to this lesson. They were the ones who made up most of the story for the class. They really seemed to enjoy what they were doing. (1/29)

. . . .

I was to play a game with compound words with Robert, Jim, and Rick. Jim was very obstinate. He did everything he could to mess up what we were doing. Robert got hung up on one word and could not let it go. The word was bird foot, which was really bird fly. (OBS: He could not seem to think of anything else until I would agree with him that this was a compound word.) Rick seemed to be totally confused by the whole process. (OBS: I don't believe they know what a compound word is.)

Interpretive Aside: Why is Jim disruptive in this class? He is probably the brightest person in here. His problem seems to be that he does not want to put forth the effort to read. Why doesn't he? (2/15)

. . . .

In working one-on-one with me, Jim became very obstinate. I asked him to read the list of words that he had in front of him. He refused. (OBS: I am used to this, but he didn't stop.) I finally pushed to the point where he said three words for me: piston, block, and cell. Block and cell came very easily to Jim. The word piston was to complete another story. He called the word paston. No matter how hard I worked with him on the sounds and the parts of the word, he would not correct his pronunciation. After much work I got him to say the word piston. (OBS: I can't understand Jim. Jim works on cars every day. Why would he call a piston a paston? Every word on the list has something to do with cars. Why is he being so obstinate?)

Interpretive Aside: After my sessions were over, I spoke to the teacher about Jim. She informed me that she had noticed the same behavior from him. She told me of Jim's going outside the learning center. She said he sometimes gets other students to go outside with him. She said Jim has been doing a lot of bullying and belittling of the other students in the class. She said she did not know what to do with him. She feels he needs some counseling. She said when she tries to find out whether anything has happened at home or whether anything is bothering him, he will ask her for a date. She feels the only thing she can do is let it go. She refers to Jim as constantly putting up walls. (2/15)

Adult Sketch

Jim is 18 years old and lives with a guardian who is a newspaper writer and teaches journalism as adjunct faculty at one of the colleges. His real father is in jail. He has a twin brother and two other brothers. He has taken an auto-mechanics program for three years and is now in a welding school. He receives financial support as long as he attends school.

> He drives a '79 Trans Am that belongs to his guardian. He was given a motorcycle and two weeks in Florida when he earned an A in automobile maintenance. He brought a picture of his room to class one day. The photo showed a room filled with books, a stereo sound system, and a TV. His other interest is bodybuilding. He said he was always picked on until he was 14 years old, when he started lifting weights. He is knowledgeable about gymnastics, the Olympics, and judging.
>
> Jim apparently has no personal goal in learning to read, or at least will not admit a goal--and, in fact, states that he will never learn to read. He tested on the TABE at 2.4 reading level.
>
> He exhibits two kinds of behavior in reading instruction. If it is a classroom situation with his peers, he seems to be deliberately disruptive to get attention. He can be belligerent by saying, "I'm not going to do this; you're not going to make me." If it is an activity he enjoys, his comments are meaningful and constructive. If the activity is not interesting, his comments carry undertones of three themes: sex, cars, and other bodily functions. In one-to-one instruction, Jim can be either extremely cooperative or obstinate. His moods are very changeable.
>
> Jim continually interacts with the materials as he reads. He personalizes the story when it is concrete. Sometimes he will take one point in a story and go off on a tangent. He is good at remembering details.

Jim is attending the beginning reading class while taking courses in auto mechanics and welding. He apparently derives much of his self-concept from his guardian, who provides him with the material surroundings and possessions of many middle-class families. He tends to relate to things that teenagers typically associate with masculinity, such as cars, bodybuilding, and sexy comments. He tests his limits physically by taking unusual risks. Apparently, he has no other sources of personal experience, such as deep emotional relationships, part-time jobs, or a consistent family structure. His reasons for attending the beginning reading class do not seem to be personally meaningful.

Although Jim is chronologically a young adult, his behavior patterns resemble those of a teenager. He seems to have had few opportunities to work on developmental tasks such as forming a dream, developing love relationships, or actually entering the world of work (Levinson, 1978). Because of his unstable family life, he appears to postpone taking up adult consciousness tasks (Gould, 1978) or choosing an occupational area (Super, 1963). Because he has not personally set a goal in learning to read--which would be an example of Kuhlen's (1968) growth-expansion motivation theme--his behavior in reading is changeable and inconsistent.

2. Snapshot of Betsy

Field Notes

Betsy came to the center in July, 1980, and continually announced, "I can't read." Ms. M. said it was more a lack of self-confidence. In the first week, Betsy used the first-level book.

In the process of writing the story, Betsy revealed her lack of self-confidence. Ms. M said, "You're doing real good." Betsy replied, "No, I'm not " Ms. M immediately responded in her normal tone and slow-paced voice, "Yes, you are. These are your words. You are doing the writing. You don't see me writing. It's your language, your composition. You are writing what Brenda does in your own words. You told me in your own words." (10/2)

. . . .

Ms. M shifted the focus by asking where was Betsy's writing from last week. Betsy didn't do it, so Ms. M said, "Okay," and explained the assignment for next week. Betsy was to take the file box of cards home every day and use the cards to organize a sentence. She was to write a sentence or a story each day in her notebook, and date it. Betsy requested a flashcard for October, but then added that she wanted all the months. Ms. M repeated, "You want all the months?" and began writing the cards. (OBS: I wondered whether Betsy was trying to assert her autonomy by having the teacher do the assignment, just as she had tried to get the teacher to play the game of sentence-making. It may be a necessary defense mechanism. The teacher's response was not indignation or noncooperation, but one of respecting the request and complying.) Now Betsy's cards consisted of the months, some of the numbers, family names, and a few miscellaneous words.

While Ms. M wrote the months, she asked Betsy to study the spelling of Wayne. Betsy did, saying, "That's easy--WAY--NE. That's no problem." "Write me something about Wayne." (OBS: Without making the card sentence.) Betsy seems to resist, so Ms. M. says, "If you just want to put his name down, that will be fine. You study Brenda. I think your trouble is more psychological than spelling." After she repeated the daily assignment to write a journal, Betsy left. (10/2)

. . . .

Betsy: "How can you learn? Memorize the words?"
Ms. M : "No, don't memorize the word. You say sounds." She demonstrates by writing s/igh/t. "Don't worry about rushing through, and then you just need practice."

(OBS: Ms. M seems to stress the teaching of reading strategies and making the adult conscious that this is a strategy to unlock words and meaning from print. This approach implies that all readers will continually need reading strategies as they read new materials.)

Ms. M : "Betsy, three months ago, you could not even start this card. Don't be afraid to be wrong. For the most part, you're right. Start trusting yourself."

Betsy says, looking at Ms. M 's pad and the word sweep, "Two es sound like a long ee--it drags?" (OBS: Does the adult need to verbalize the rule also and interpret it in his or her own language?)

Betsy rests from these discussions (OBS: Is this a necessary resting period--time off from the task? Does this indicate the high intensity of concentration and the discipline to control her frustrations and anxiety in reading a paragraph?)

Betsy begins reading the first paragraph again.

Interpretive Asides: It was a long tutoring session--almost 45 minutes. Below is an abbreviated list of behavior patterns in a tutoring situation.

Teaching Behaviors

-Deliberately identifying the strategy the student just learned
-Seeking agreement from the student that this is the next activity the student wants to do
-Dictating a sentence
  a) word by word
  b) as a whole
Either way, Betsy got stuck on a word.

Learning Behaviors

a) Comprehension

-Knew light in the context of cigarette light
-Knew the meaning of the story "A Birthday in Jail" after the whole card was read

b) Word Attack

-Reads silently and then points to each word she is unsure of and says it to see if it is correct before she reads aloud the entire sentence
-Verbalizes the strategy she is using--i.e., break up word
-Identifies her own difficulty: "I can't put the two words together"
-Needs time-out, resting behavior
-Reads aloud first paragraph slowly and then reads the second time with intonation
-Interacts with print--makes comments about the story
-Wants to correct the poor English (see advantage/disadvantages to these materials)
-Uses two strategies: a) skip the unknown word; b) sound out the two-part word (11/6)

. . . .

Betsy is "full of herself." She says, "I got a good memory. Somebody pushed my button this morning. I'm going to give this class a hell of a time this morning."

Betsy starts talking again. She says, "Her head is swollen." She says she wants to start sleeping here. She says, "Shua, I sleep here on the table." She tells Rob, "I'm scared you won't do anything." She lies back in the chair with her feet propped up.

Betsy turns to the observer and stares at her. She says, "She is a teacher. She's writing down bad stuff. She's get me kicked out of school. Don't be writin' that bad stuff. Get me kicked out of school. Look at that, she done fulled the page up."

Lonnie says, "Don't talk about that lady. She ain't written nothing about you."

Betsy says back to him, "Lonnie, you go to heaven."

The teacher writes the word restless on the board.

Betsy gets up out of her seat and begins to talk to Lonnie.

The teacher asks her to sit down and walks over to Betsy. She says she knows Betsy had a bad time yesterday and they will talk about it later.

Betsy quickly responds with, "I ain't talkin'. I'm as quiet as a mouse." Betsy calls out to Donnie, "Yeah, man, it hurts."

Interpretive Aside: Betsy is usually so quiet in a classroom situation, and very dependent upon the teacher and her tutor. Yesterday her cigarette lighter was stolen. Today she is acting like an elementary-school child who had her favorite toy destroyed. She seems to be throwing a temper tantrum. (12/3)

Adult Sketch

Betsy is 21 years old. Most of the time she wears a T-shirt, blue jeans, and sneakers, which give her a masculine bearing. No one has seen her wear a skirt to the center. Betsy has long, dark blond, stringy hair which is not cut or worn in any style. She bites her fingernails frequently.

Betsy seems quite childish and immature in her behavior. She delights in using four-letter words and giggles about their use much as a fourth-grader does. Betsy is very egocentric and views the world in terms of herself alone. Every conversational topic is immediately personalized. When asked about anything outside the center, she seldom gives a direct response; yet she expects a straight answer when she asks a question.

Betsy is the youngest child of a large family. She does not seem to have had anything other than temporary, short-term jobs. She refers to looking after children, which may mean that her mother does this for a living and she helps her mother. She does not seem to feel that eventually she might have to take on adult responsibilities. She, in fact, may be fearful of leaving home.

> She speaks of no friends or social activities except attending the center. She has no mature relationships with males. She does not easily interact with people she does not know well. In fact, the major change in Betsy in a year has been from a very shy, withdrawn child--an isolate--to one who talks and laughs with other class members and actively seeks the teacher's attention. She is quite attached to her teachers and tutor, and on occasion will bring them presents. She calls her teacher and tutor "Mama."
>
> Betsy's work habits are influenced by her fear of making mistakes and her changing moods. Sometimes she will decode words; at other times she will skip words. To learn word families, she needs direct, precise teaching. Although she seems to comprehend an entire story, she seldom uses context cues to figure out a single word. She needs constant reinforcement and reassurance when she reads aloud. She is interested in learning rules, and can immediately apply them, but the retention of the rule in later applications seems lacking. Betsy has made progress during the year at the center, but it has been difficult to assess in a personally meaningful way. As she says, "I still can't pick up nothing and read it." It is particularly degrading to her that she cannot read her niece's primary books.

Originally classified as a nonreader and an isolate, Betsy now interacts with all the beginning students and feels at home in the social exchanges. Her behavior, however, is childlike and immature in many ways. She does not seem to have had opportunities or successful relationships as a young woman, and exhibits behavior appropriate to a self-centered tomboy. She seeks attention and desires personal relationships with her female teachers and tutors. She is fearful of taking risks and making mistakes in reading.

Betsy seems to be acting out childhood consciousness of the omnipotence of her family (Gould, 1978). Although she states a desire to learn to read, her behavior exhibits a motivation of anxiety and frustration rather than one of growth and expansion (Kuhlen, 1968). Her references to employment seem more like fantasies than like realities. Perhaps, as Tittle and Denker (1980) suggest, she sees no need to plan seriously for her employment, expecting instead that marriage will become her full-time occupation. However, she does not seem to be attempting developmental tasks in this area except at a very general level and in an immature way.

3. Snapshot of Lonnie

Field Notes

Lonnie enters the room for his conference. Lonnie is new to the center, 22 years old, completed 11th grade, is not on welfare, and is employed part-time. He always has a smile on his face and is continually nodding. His goals: reading, a strong nod; writing, "Okay"; math, "Yes, right"; and he would like to register to vote. When asked whether he was improving his education to hold his job, he asked her to repeat the question twice and said, "Not really." But he does want to get a better job, a salary increase, and a skills program. Topics of interest to him are government and law, "Yeah"; consumer economics, "Yeah"; health, "Naw"; income tax, "Yeah." The teacher says, "Gee, I'm going to have to show you all how to do income tax." He has no driver's license, but that is a long-range goal; he is not concerned about it right now. The same response came to the other goal questions. He is not a registered voter.

When he was asked whether he had any goal he wanted to add, he said nothing in particular. (OBS: I kept feeling the form was interfering with the communication. The closed questions did not encourage the student to talk about himself, how he saw the world, what his immediate and long-range goals were, what job he had, or what type of school he attended.)

The teacher proceeds with writing the monthly goals and reviewing the diagnostic test. She says that his comprehension is good but he needs to work on his oral reading and increasing his vocabulary. He is working in Book 5 now, at the z and s sounds. She writes down the goal of registered voter. The teacher says he needs to do half a lesson a day and one spelling tape a week.

I finally intervened and asked, "Lonnie, what kind of work do you really want to do?" Lonnie responded so clearly that he must have thought about it for a long time. He wants to run a business, to work his way to the top. He has a certificate in tailoring and alterations work. He wants to get his GED and go into design. He is presently laid off from his tailoring job, but he can return once business picks up. He said, "I really do good work at ______ and ______." (OBS: He said this twice with much pride. I suspect that he really needs to assert his achievements, despite reading problems.)

As Lonnie left the room, Miss A turned to me in amazement about eleventh-graders who are at or below the fourth-grade reading level. Because I've taught high school students, it didn't amaze me. The teacher's background is in elementary education, and she has taught second-graders. (9/25)

. . . .

Lonnie said, "You caught me off guard again," when I walked up to him to ask him to read a paragraph. Lonnie read the first story with little or no problem. He went on to say again he was used to my coming up and surprising him. He again referred to me as catching him off guard.

After Lonnie read the story, I asked him to retell what happened in the story in his own words. As he retold the story, he brought much into it from his experiences in a similar situation. He said, "People lived on a farm. Enjoyed farm life, the peace, beauty, and the animals." He said they enjoyed that type of life.

Because Lonnie had little trouble with this paragraph, I decided to give him the next one. He had much trouble reading this. When I asked him to tell me the story in his own words, he said, "This couple has something in common." He told about the two people liking each other. (OBS: I could see him bring many of the experiences he had had to his retelling of the story.)

Interpretive Aside: Lonnie seems to bring much of his personal life into reading situations. I wonder whether this is detrimental or beneficial to his understanding. It looks as if it may be detrimental in Lonnie's case. (12/9)

Adult Sketch

Lonnie enrolled at the center at the beginning of the fall semester. He is a handsome 22-year-old man who is always pleasant and smiling. He lives with his parents and has never lived in another home or location. He is very well-mannered.

He made rapid progress from September to December. He tested at the fourth-grade level in December. He did not attend the center again until March. He tested at the first-grade level in March. Apparently, he did not retain his reading achievement or did not apply his skills during those three months.

> Lonnie has artistic ability. He can design clothes in his mind and then cut out patterns. (OBS: This sounds like a high level of spatial-relations and mechanical ability.) In the September conference, he was very proud that he had worked as a tailor and had his license. He implied strongly that he was unemployed only because business at the tailor shop had declined and not because he was a poor tailor.

Lonnie is a young adult who lives with his parents and who has made an initial trial in the world of work as a tailor. His self-esteem seems to be derived from secure relationships with his parents, his friends, and his experience-based knowledge of his abilities and skills as a tailor. He seems to view his previous employer as a mentor. Presently unemployed and perhaps with a more realistic awareness of job competition, he has set a goal to improve his employment opportunities. He made rapid progress in four months and then regressed when he was absent from the center for three months. Perhaps this three-month period was another trial experience as an adult, which may have reaffirmed his goal of learning to read.

Lonnie seems to be in developmental phases of early adulthood (Levinson, 1978), where he has identified a mentor and an occupation but not yet developed a close or stabilized love relationship. It is during the period when, Gould (1978) suggests, parents exert the strongest influence and only by seeking more divergent views and a personal social life can a person move into adult consciousness. Apparently, Lonnie is still exploring many segments of adult life, including the importance of reading in adulthood.

4. Snapshot of Rick

Field Notes

"Peter Carter Mystery"

Coding for Rick:

Mrs. Carter:
My husband went fishing every day. He came home by seven. One night he didn't come home. He was a good man. Why don't they think he's dead? His boat was found. I know he drowned. They will find his body. (1/29)

. . . .

Rick asked me to listen to the story he was reading. He had the following miscues:

raise pronounced
gambling pronounced
then for where
Its for it
breaking for break
came for come
thinks for think
committed for confined
took for take
do for does
why for when
went for want
other for older
along for anything
lost for last
duck for due
though for there's
wood for word
would for walk

When we finished the reading lesson, Rick told me that he felt he needed to learn the ou sound. I gave Rick two examples of the ou sound: out and ought. I emphasized the sound in each word. I also emphasized that the gh in the word was silent. Rick asked me how people learn to read. I explained to him that many people learn by learning the sounds and the sound spellings. Rick asked me what I thought he should do. I told him that the best thing he could do would be to practice his reading. I told him to read anything he could.

Interpretive Aside: Rick has progressed since before Christmas. When I listened to him read before, he could hardly read two or three words. Every other word in a passage had to be given to him. Now Rick reads the material he has been given. He sometimes makes nonsense miscues, but very seldom. He will go back, at times, and correct himself when the passage doesn't make sense. (2/2)

Adult Sketch

Rick is 22 years old, clean-cut, and always neatly dressed in street style. He resembles the typical young adult with many interests. He likes sports, walks in the park, attends concerts in the city auditorium, and has a wide range of musical tastes. He lives with his mother and has a girlfriend with whom he has periodic disputes.

He attends regularly and, according to the teacher, has made unbelievable progress. He has reached the second or third level in five months. He is now reading in a series of high-interest and low-vocabulary books. Rick sometimes needs reassurance. For example, he will say, "I don't think I'm going to know these words." He is curious about consonant and vowel rules and reading patterns. He is eager to learn.

Rick's employment, previous school record, and reason for learning to read are unknown. Because of his rapid progress in reading, it can be assumed that he has set a personalized goal.

Although Rick is 22, he seems to be in a transitional period before entering the adult world (Levinson, 1974). Still living with his mother, he has apparently made few initial choices in vocation, peers, lifestyle, values, or love relationships. Levinson's research suggests that Rick will probably make choices and test his decisions during the next few years. During ages 22-28, a young adult explores and creates a stable life structure to become more responsible and to "make something of himself." Rick's rapid reading achievement suggests that his initial choices as an adult require that he be able to read.

5. Snapshot of Mike

Field Notes

The teacher gets the rest of the class to read the conclusion of her story that was made up in class.

Next, the teacher puts the word paycheck on the board. She asks the students to respond to the word. The students respond in the following ways:

Mike: Money.
How to spend it?
What's left?

Lorraine: How much it is?

Ann: Amount.

Betsy: Bank.

Mike: Depends on what you pay.

Lorraine: Rent.

Mike: Bills.
Like you rent this room out.
You'll be like paying for the room.
Credit cards.
You must deal with Visa and Master Charge.
That's it, I'm drained.
Clothing.

The teacher explains to the class that they will be reading about a paycheck and how it works in the lesson for tomorrow.

Interpretive Aside: After the class, the teacher and I talked about Lonnie's behavior. He seems to be quite tired some days. I wonder whether it is because of the night life he has once he leaves the center. Mike was the other student we discussed. Both of us agreed that Mike would not be in this group for very long. Mike has the skill to think and read. The students who can do both don't stay in this room very long. (2/2)

. . . .

During the class, I moved over to Mike and worked one-on-one, asking him to read. During this reading, Mike made these miscues:

this for that
shake for his
county for country
boys for bory C
thought for through

After Mike read the story, I asked him to retell it. He told:

"This guy named Abie. First, he couldn't play no ball. Then coach was interested in him--found out about him. Came from a broken home. Taking care of his brothers and sisters. Coach had left. He wanted to go to Long Island University."

Mike makes the miscue inferences for interference. It seems to me that he gets the main idea of the passage. (2/26)

. . . .

The teacher started the lesson for the day and asked the students to use broken in a sentence. Rick volunteered the sentence, "The man broken the window when he hit his head." Mike said, "It don't sound right." Mike gave the sentence, "The man broke the window when he hit his head." Mike then gave the sentence, "The man had broken his leg." (OBS: Rick seems to be annoyed at what Mike is doing. He tells Mike, "Mike goin' to keep it up and I'm going to put stitches across his forehead.") The next word on the board was windshield. Lorraine gave the sentence, "I washed the windshield on my car." The sentence given by Mike was, "It was your fault 'cause you came late." (OBS: Mike is giving all of the sentences.) The teacher says, "Let's hear from those who aren't saying anything." The next word is sidewalk. The sentence given is, "I walked down the sidewalk."

The teacher tells the students that they will be writing the words in alphabetical order. Rick gives the first word, accident. Mike gives broken, careful, cause, fault. The teacher stops to look. Mike says, "Why you hesitatin' there?" The next words are reader, screeching. Mike won't let them finish. (3/2)

Adult Sketch

Mike appeared one day at the center and enrolled in the ABR class. He is 23 years old and a tall, thin, lanky man. He is always neat in his dress, but sometimes does not wear clothes that match.

Mike seems very street-wise. He spoke little of his family. He visits his mother's relatives, who live in North Carolina. He has a breadth of general knowledge.

Mike never stated a particular reason for attending the center. He enjoyed socializing. He was well-liked, had many friends, and was always talking to someone or teasing and joking.

When Mike was not busy talking about his love life, his sex life, and what he did on first dates, he worked very hard. He

> needed direction toward a task. He worked quickly and had the concept and was moving on to something else before the other students had recognized the concept. Mike needed to be kept challenged, which was difficult to do in a class with a wide range of reading levels.
>
> Mike tested at a third- or fourth-grade reading level. He read well and understood what he read. He could answer comprehension questions and draw inferences from his reading. He could tell a story in sequence. Mike was not tested further because he went to jail on drug charges.
>
> This event was a shock to the teacher, who saw him as a very likeable, broad-experienced person who had more potential than most class members. Mike seemed to have the potential to obtain his GED, learn a trade, and become a self-sufficient, contributing member of society.
>
> Mike had acquired a breadth of general knowledge by the age of 23. Although he still lived with his mother, he enjoyed his own friends, both male and female. He had traveled outside the state. Although he never stated a specific reason for attending the center, his work habits and general intelligence indicated that he wanted to complete his GED. The staff thought that he had the potential to become a contributing member of society. However, Mike was found guilty on drug charges.

Mike seems to be responding to those developmental tasks that Gould (1978) found in ages 16-22 and those of entering the adult world (Levinson, 1978). Although Mike has made initial choices of peers, it is unknown whether he has made initial choices of occupation, values, and lifestyle. The drug conviction he received while still living with his family could be viewed as rebellion or as representing an initial choice of values and lifestyle.

There is little indication that Mike has implemented a trial vocation (Super, 1961) or created a stable life structure to become more responsible and to "make something of himself" (Levinson, 1978) other than through progress in reading.

6. Snapshot of Casey

Field Notes

Next, I help Casey, who is working in Level I Laubach. He is doing an exercise where he fills in the name of a person, just as it was in the story. He has trouble with Dan. I help him. Then we work on the word ill, because he has learned Jill and Hill. He has trouble at first, but we do pill, fill, mill, sill, dill. Some he says very quickly; with others, I must repeat the whole group for him until he can do it. He seems to recognize the common sound, but has trouble changing initial letters. (1/18)

. . . .

I help Casey. He reads p. 56. Miscues:

put for picks
am for at
Jill: he says another name, then says it wrong. I say to look at will, which has the same sound; he begins with J. He says Jill.
at for are
can for visiting

I ask him to return to p. 31 and read that. He has much trouble with gives and his. It seems he does not master each lesson as he should, and this is one reason he continues to miscue. He does not seem to use phonics, nor the site word approach. A difficult person to assess. After this page, I tell him to learn gives and his. Five minutes later he is still working on this page. (2/17)

Adult Sketch

Casey is a husky 23-to-25-year-old male who attended school for five years and has been at the center for a year. He is unemployed. Outside class he looks at U.S. News and World Report and Newsweek. He claims he reads other magazines and does not watch TV. He said that a good teacher 1) studied hard, 2) corrected you, and 3) taught the sounds of words. When asked what are some things that make a bad teacher, he responds, "I never had that problem." He brought to the observer a pamphlet from the Navy describing the frogman program or a similar job. Casey said he had a friend in this branch of the service and thus he was familiar with the job and educational requirements. However, Casey did not focus on the educational requirements in his discussion. He talked only of the job description.

Casey has made limited progress after attending the center for a year. His slow rate of learning suggests a very limited experiential background and general knowledge to use in learning to read. Although he indicated an interest in one occupation, he did not talk of other interests, friends, employment, or family. He never verbalized a reason for learning to read or for his consistent attendance. His pattern of not mastering each lesson before turning to the next lesson may indicate a level of frustration and anxiety.

Casey's interest in an occupation which would require achievement and thinking ability may be an example of fantasizing or denial of a psychological field. Kuhlen (1968) cites Lewin's research that concluded that when children were unable to obtain a goal, e.g., toys within their vision but out of reach, they soon behaved or thought as if the toys were no longer within their psychological field. There is little indication that Casey is forming a dream based on his talents, or that his thinking has become critical, analytical, and goal-directed so that he can be competent in adult work (Gould, 1978).

7. Snapshot of Joan

Field Notes

Joan is of medium height, heavy in stature, and in her mid-twenties. She comes only on Thursdays. She does a lot of other things, including sign language. Maurice says she does volunteer work. She is presently circling words in her skills book that she knows how to say in sign language. I give her words to spell that she has studied. She gets these correct: adult, monthly, phone, weather, saying, beyond. She cannot spell budget, program, or caution. For deny, she spells denier. (12/11)

. . . .

I give two spelling lists to Joan. Before I ask the words, she asks me, "How was your weekend? Do you like to jog? You strike me as someone who likes to exercise." I told her she was right, and told her what I did this weekend. She says her brother-in-law jogs, and then says she saw The Incredible Shrinking Woman at the movies, and she liked it. "I cried, my mother laughed, I felt sorry for her."

Spelling: benfit for benefit; edcation for education; excee for exceed; brigde for bridge; theaster for theater; vacnation for vacation.

Joan turns around and asks, "Why is breakfast so important? Can you cook? I wonder where Patrick is. He hasn't been here in two days." I answer each question; she says a lot of other things, too. She says she is glad the hostages are back. (2/3)

. . . .

As I come near Joan, she tells me she does not have any enthusiasm today. She says the GED seems to be getting smaller and smaller, as in a sunset. I reassure her. She asks if I could give her the spelling quiz and have her spell verbally. For several of the words she uses sign language to help her spell. Otherwise she says the letters. She did very well, having trouble only with thoughtful out of ten words. Afterwards, she says it was fun that way. (12/12)

Adult Sketch

Joan is in her mid-twenties and does volunteer work with the deaf, using sign language. She lives with her mother. She is very interested in the people around her--the teacher, teaching assistants, and classmates. She continually asks questions and carries on a conversation, indicating an awareness of current events, recreational interests, and general knowledge. Yet she never supplies information about herself, her own friends, or her previous schooling apart from the volunteer work.

Joan made the most progress in reading in the shortest period. She was the most advanced in spelling of those who attended the class. After a few minutes to review the words, she would be able to spell most of them correctly. She was moved into the next higher class.

Despite this progress and indications of general intelligence, Joan lacked self-confidence in the area of reading. (OBS: One wonders why she had difficulty in reading and whether a lack of

> self-confidence affects her in her other areas of life--marriage or love relationships, obtaining skills for employment rather than volunteer work, relationships with family. She is capable of setting goals, because she is aware of requirements for the GED. I wonder why the GED goal is important and why she has not married by now?)

Joan, who is in her mid-twenties, lives with her mother and does volunteer work with the deaf. She has social skills in interacting with different kinds of adults, and conversational skills that suggest acquired general knowledge. She did not speak of her own peer group, previous employment, or educational experiences. Although she made rapid progress in the initial step toward the goal of earning her GED, she lacked self-confidence. She often needed reassurance and reaffirmation of her goal.

Joan seems to be at the early adult or pre-adult phase, despite her age. She has apparently made none of the initial choices regarding occupation, love relationships, peers, values, and lifestyle that a novice adult tests (Levinson, 1978). Her close relationships with her family, except for volunteer work and setting an educational goal, suggest that these choices may be postponed until marriage (Tittle and Denker, 1980). This may also explain her lack of self-confidence despite her progress in reading.

8. Snapshot of Carol

Field Notes

> Carol is a new student. She can visually discriminate between letters of the alphabet. The teacher tells her to go through and as she writes the letters to say each of them to herself. (OBS: Carol looks quite dazed today. I wonder whether she is this way every day. She spoke of putting her son on a bus for nursery school at 5:30 this morning. To me, something sounds strange.)

Carol has written the letters of the alphabet. The teacher wants her to review them. Carol starts to go over them. She is trying to learn the pictures and the letters. (OBS: She is really confused. She is having trouble with g, j, w, l, and p, to name just a few.) (1/15)

. . . .

Carol has her workbook open but is not really studying it. She tells me she is very tired, and she will try to stay awake till noon, when she can leave. (2/10)

. . . .

Evidently Carol's boss wants her to give up coming here in order to work all day. The teacher tells her perhaps she can ask him if she can work part-time so that she may continue coming here. Then she has Carol read some words and letters on the card from the tape machine. (2/17)

Adult Sketch

Carol entered the program in January. She could not write the letters of the alphabet. Although she continued to attend the ABR class, it seemed to be difficult for her to manage her family and her job. The conflict centered on her boss wanting her to work full-time, which would force her to drop the ABR class.

Carol also seemed to have a difficult time in meeting the needs of her family. She is about 27 years old and has a son. There seemed to be little family support for her to complete the program. She often came to class too tired to concentrate.

Carol is 27 years old, is married, and has one son and a part-time job. She seems to be working on the developmental tasks of ages 22-28 (Gould, 1978), since she has left her parents' home and has a family of her own. However, by adding an educational goal at this age, she seems to be experiencing what Tittle and Denker (1980) have suggested are multiple roles and role conflict in women's adult development. This may account for her inability to apply her full energies to the task of learning to read.

9. Snapshot of Horace

Field Notes

The teacher asked me to work with Horace individually. In word recognition, on the first reading he did much better than he has done in class. Miscues:

when/then
fought for fans
there/they
begin/began
s----/clean

When I read first, he made fewer errors (only two: hadn't for had). Other miscues used syntax: much for more.

When he read alone after my oral pattern, there were more errors. Errors used syntax also: hit him for hurt him; hurt for killed; his for them. This may have been because we were more into the story, or because there is a need for language patterns. I must note to what extent he uses words as they are in the story.

Comprehension: When I asked Horace to ask me questions, it seemed to pass him by. He could, in limited ways, answer fact questions. His dictated story was not sequenced. He focused upon his major misconception and lacked the drama of story (i.e., funeral). His story was, "Bummer was a fighter. He got hurt. I think his friends didn't help him. Bummer was fighting for some money." (1/18)

. . . .

I worked with Horace on the check exercises. He did quite well on the context sheet, knowing most of the words in the sentences, but often missing the word to be filled in.

On the list of rhyming words, he surprised me. He wrote got, lot, hot, sot, and read get, let. He really can't use initial consonant substitution, but apparently reproduces the words!

Word Recognition: He made the same pattern of miscues: why/where, saw/said, they/he. But once or twice he appeared to use word association or context, e.g., hurt for better.

Comprehension: It is difficult to get any evidence that he understands anything he reads. After reading a story about a man who lost his arm and being asked to note the main idea, he arbitrarily copied a sentence from the story. Horace works very hard. He either can't comprehend, or can't tell us, that the print or meaning of the story carries the message.

Language: He started to tell in complex sentence form about a news story (a fire), but that one line was the total of his knowledge of the story.

Interpretive Asides: I was so intent on why he was having trouble that I failed to be reinforcing; and after a final reading of a story, I realized I had left him feeling discouraged. I must be careful about this. This was a hard evening for him, doing the worksheets, reading alone two stories and an LEA.

His LEA was brief and came out sentence by sentence as I asked, "Then what?" He didn't seem to take interest/pride in it. (11/20)

Adult Sketch

Horace is about 27 or 29 years old and has been coming to the center since 1971. He is quiet, usually smiling, but seldom interacts with other students. He lives alone and has a job hanging sheetrock in the physical plant department at a nearby university. He mentioned one brother in New York who is lazy. He is a very hard worker and very polite when spoken to.

In reading, he lacked self-confidence, especially in answering questions before a group. He continually needed reinforcement. He tended to do better on a one-to-one basis. If he were asked reading questions in class, he often responded with a topic important to him, but irrelevant to the class. For example, his response to a question on the story read was "Man, I had a bad day."

If he liked the teacher, he would share the events of the work day with the teacher before he sat down for instruction. It was almost as if he were forewarning the teacher that he had had a stressful day on the job, "so do not call on me in front of class and don't expect much of me today."

Horace stopped attending the night class in March, probably because he was not making progress and it was softball season. Horace is one of the best softball players in the city-wide league. When he saw the teacher in the store of a softball-team member, he pretended he did not know his previous reading teacher. Horace continued to attend the center, working on math in the carrels.

Horace is in his late twenties, has a full-time job in the physical plant of a university, and is one of the best softball players in the city league. It seems his employment and recognition in sports were his major sources of self-esteem. Although he had been attending the reading center for 10 years, he was still in the beginning reading class. Placed in a reading class that required interaction and oral reading, Horace stopped attending the class but continued with his math program.

Horace seems to be working on the developmental tasks of ages 28-34 (Gould, 1978), or what Levinson (1978) calls the Age 30 Transition. Horace may be working on the task of forming a dream based on his talents. His 10 years at the center with little visible progress would allow him to challenge the childhood assumptions that rewards come automatically to those who do what they are supposed to do and that rationality, commitment, and effort will prevail over any odds. It seems that Horace is now working on the developmental task of accepting what he can reasonably expect, on the basis of what he has done, recognizing that he must work directly at a task, and accepting his limitations and the complexity of reality.

Levinson's study (1978) suggests that during the early and mid-twenties, the novice adult tests his initial choice of occupation, love relationships, peer relationships, values, and lifestyle. During this period a young man creates a stable life structure to become a more responsible adult and to "make something of himself." During the Age 30 Transition, a young man works out the flaws and limitations of his first adult life structure. During this time, an adult may make important new choices or may reaffirm old choices. Horace seems to be reaffirming old choices by continuing to attend the center, but placing more value on his achievements in sports and peer relationships. He does not seem to be challenging his previous occupational choice of unskilled hourly work. There is no information on other aspects of his life structure, such as marriage and family.

10. Snapshot of Carl

Field Notes

Carl came in for his conference. His first question was what were the forms and what were they used for. Carl is new to the center this year, completed seventh grade and went to training school, is 27 years old, and is employed part-time. When asked if he had welfare assistance, he laughed and said, "I wish I would." He said he was a registered voter--"I haven't registered this year." The teacher explained that you only have to register once. He has voted.

When asked about his goals, he had difficulty understanding the three choices. The center program could not help him increase his salary, but it could help him enter a skills program. He has a young child. When asked what topics he wanted to learn about, he said "yeah" to government and law but didn't know what consumer economics was. He didn't have interests in the community or in parenting topics. He has his driver's license.

Carl wanted to earn his GED to enter an insurance program. He was very proud when I asked him whether he had attended the Richmond City Training Center. He said that he had gone to the one in the old building and that he had a barber's license, a shoe-repair license, and a shop assistant's license in woodworking. (OBS: He seems quite knowledgeable and perhaps mature compared to some others. He is aware of educational programs, has been in several training programs, has worked, and has a family.) He said that he had been a barber for three years but instead of "starting with an image, I just did it the way I liked it to be done." He continued about wanting his GED to get into insurance, but I don't know what he meant by "insurance." He said, "I feel if I can accomplish reading, then I can accomplish anything." (OBS: He seems to have a high personal goal in the area of reading.)

Interpretive Aside: These three adults were verbal in areas that had relevancy to them. Each adult in some way conveyed his sense of accomplishment: bringing up a child, working, and being licensed for tailoring and alterations work and a host of other things. The two who were working did not see the center as helping to improve their present jobs or salaries. Apparently, they are in "deadend" jobs. However, the teacher did not pursue what jobs they did have.

The investigator wonders what would have happened if the teacher had completed the view form after allowing the adult to talk on certain topics--about himself, why he or she came to the center, present family, job, activities, etc. Then, if the teacher had moved on to goals--present and ultimate--we might have some interesting clues about the life of adults with minimal literacy in American society--how they survive, the quality of their life, their joys, sorrows, values, etc.

These adults have goals--they have stated that they need to learn to read. Perhaps the real problem is to provide the situation where they can overcome fear, anxiety, and frustration, and develop the skills to achieve in this area. According to Bowren and Zintz, the value structure is different in that illiterates have needs for nurturing and affiliation, and for social and religious values, but low needs for achievement, aesthetic, political, or economic values. Probably it is a matter not of low needs, but of limited expectations set for themselves.

The monthly diagnosis and planning also could lead to ideas for teacher decision-making--topics that would be relevant to various students. (9/25)

. . . .

The teacher asks the class about attitudes. She puts the word attitude on the board.

Maxine responds to the word attitude. She says, "Bad attitude against somebody."

Carl gives the words "good, cheerful, playful, pleasing" in response to the word attitude.

The other students in the room give the following words in response to the word attitude: "bad, anger, lie, hate, disgusted, disapprove, depressed, rude, deceive."

Rob begins to say something and the teacher corrects him.

Betsy jumps right on this. "Uh-oh, Mumma talkin' up." She begins to yawn.

Carl says his "attitude for today is pleasant." He says, "Betsy got a selfish attitude." (12/3)

. . . .

Carl's tutor says she thinks Carl will accomplish much because he is very determined. She seems very upset because Carl has become dependent on her. Carl expects to get his GED in one year. Since she has started working with him, he wants that one-on-one attention all the time.

She says Carl has good context skills. He has a good sense of language and he reads for meaning. Carl uses beginning sounds, and his substitutions are meaningful. He reads on the literal, interpretive, and applied levels. He is highly motivated.

She sees Carl's weaknesses as a slow, labored attack on words, lack of knowledge of vowel sounds, and reading extremely slowly. (12/4)

Postscript: Carl left the program in January. The staff thinks that Carl, even though he was highly motivated, had set the unrealistic goal of obtaining the GED in one year. In his past training programs, if his attendance and cooperation were acceptable, he could receive a certificate within a year. However, the GED certificate is based on achievement, and by December he realized that he had set a long-term goal. (1/25)

Adult Sketch

Carl was married, and had one child and a part-time job. He was 27 years old. He drove a Trans Am and wore expensive, well-tailored clothes on his small frame. It was rumored that he was "receiving money under the table." He was quiet, well-mannered, and cooperative in class.

His high motivation was obvious. He was consistent in his attendance and work. A tutor was assigned to work with Carl in the fall. He appreciated all individual instruction.

Carl's reason for learning to read was to obtain the GED, a requirement to get his insurance license. Although he had three other licenses and had worked three years as a barber, he was now interested in the insurance field. When he realized that obtaining his GED would take more than one year, he left the center.

Carl attended the beginning reading class for four months. He seemed to be working on the developmental tasks of ages 28-34 (Gould, 1978) and the Age 30 Transition (Levinson, 1978). He had tried several occupations through training and working, and was now interested in another field, which required a GED. Thus, he seemed to be in the trial substage of the Exploration Stage of Super's vocational development (1963). Carl had created a stable life structure in love relationships, values, peer relationships, and lifestyle. However, he had not stabilized in the choice of an occupation.

Carl's reaction to his reality testing of the learning-to-read process suggests that he had moved from the developmental tasks of the late twenties to those of ages 28-34 (Gould, 1978). His behavior at the center suggested that he assumed that rewards would come automatically if he did what was expected of him, and that with commitment and effort he could earn the GED within a year. After four months of slow progress, realizing that it would take more than one year to earn the GED, he seems to have accepted his limitations and the complexity of reality. Presumably his leaving the reading program indicates that he does not intend to pursue a career in insurance.

11. Snapshot of Joy

Field Notes

I observed Ms. M tutoring Joy today, the first session. Ms. M. asked her what she had been doing. She replied immediately. Eventually the whole picture emerged. She had been working 12 hours a day for the last two weeks at the State Fair, on salary, cooking for ______, an Italian quick-order restaurant. She named the entire menu and the prices.

Ms. M began, asking, "How do you want to start?" But then Ms. M told her how to start by saying she needed to work on comprehension and writing a journal. Ms. M summarized the assignment. "Tell me about the Fair and being a cook." She mentioned all the details that Joy had said before. Ms. M. said to bring her story next week and she would take it home to read. She also reminded her of proofreading. (OBS: Apparently Ms. M taught this before.)

Ms. M said you pick out what you want to read. "Remember how we talked about the main idea and the supporting details."

Joy read the story silently. Ms. M asked her comprehension questions. When Joy got one wrong, she then had Joy read the story aloud. She then repeated the comprehension question. (OBS: Teacher never used the terms wrong or incorrect.) Joy then asked, "How did they feel about taking flowers from the grave?" Ms. M pointed to the sentence and had Joy read it aloud; "So, you answered your own question." During the reading exercise, Ms. M said, "Remember, it takes time. Nothing worthwhile comes easy." (OBS: The teacher has said something similar to this to each student--as if reaffirming their goals--reading is important; anything important takes time, patience, hard work to achieve; the goal is worth achieving.)

(OBS: Ms. M told me later that Joy's problem was one of comprehension. When she reads, the meaning is not based on the printed word but on the student's past experience. For example, if the story were about the ocean, the student's meaning would be derived from a visit to Virginia Beach four years ago, instead of from the story or the printed word.) (10/2)

. . . .

At some point, Joy talked to Ms. M about a test she had taken. I only heard her say "Made me kinda of hot." Ms. M said she would check it out. "Don't get discouraged. The inventory will tell what we need to work on." (OBS: The teacher explains away possible failure. Ms. M told me later that the test was TABE and Joy was complaining that the problem was the test--the directions were unclear, or the scoring was wrong. Ms. M said Joy did not want to admit that she needed as much help as she does, and therefore was placing the blame on everything except herself. It was a defense mechanism.)

(OBS: I found out the next week that Ms. M had checked on the test results for Joy. The results were very positive and, in fact, Joy will probably be moved to the next level. What Joy had reacted to was watching someone mark her wrong answers. Apparently no one explained, and she did not understand, that even though she did not get 100% correct, she still did very well on the test.) (10/9)

Adult Sketch

> Joy is a tall, large-framed woman who dresses very well, with taste and flair. She is 32 years old and takes care of her husband and three children. She walks with an erect carriage and always maintains eye contact when speaking to a person. She seems used to taking responsibility and being assertive.
>
> She has been coming to the center for a year and a half. Unless she obtains a part-time job, e.g. as a cook at the State Fair, she is regular in her attendance. However, she missed the reading class for three months when her young daughter had a baby. Upon returning to the center, she ignored peer remarks about her family and continued to progress. She was moved to the pre-GED class.

Joy at 32 years of age is a mature, responsible wife and mother of three children. She is learning to read to improve herself, which may lead to full-time employment opportunities when her children do not need her complete attention. She has maintained steady progress in reading except when she missed classes for a two-week temporary job and for family responsibilities.

Joy's determination and maturity suggest that her motivation is one of growth and expansion (Kuhlen, 1968; Neugarten, 1968), and that she is now working on the developmental tasks of ages 28-34 (Gould, 1978) and the Age 30 Transition (Levinson, 1978). She realizes that she has to work directly at learning to read in order to achieve. By exploring the possibility of earning the GED, she can determine what choices for employment she can reasonably expect. Meanwhile, by taking temporary jobs, she may reveal herself to be at the Tentative substage of the Exploration Stage (Super, 1963) of vocational development.

12. Snapshot of Alice

Field Notes

Today Alice asked me to help her with her lesson. I started with the exercises at the beginning of the lesson. The lesson was on silent e. Some of the examples of silent e given were case, gave, age, and ape. We went over the sound of a. I showed her the example of a e. We also went over the other sound of a, as in the word apple.

Alice and I went over the story. She made the following miscues when she read:

tried for turned
peoples for people
however for handling
lovely for loved
watched for others
for for from
our own for our
book for boys
on for and
read for real
Then stand still for They stand still

After she read the story, Alice told it to me in the following way:

"She was saying 1981 they had. She wondered how they had learned. Went to a building and learn together. Tommy gave her a book she could learn for herself. She went to the TV and couldn't learn. She thought the early days. She could." (2/11)

. . . .

Alice asked me why she was not able to read. I explained to her the sound/symbol relationship. I used a circle for the letter v, a square for i, a triangle for o, a plus sign for l, a minus sign for a, an asterisk for t, and a rectangle for e. We then worked together to spell some words. We spelled late: plus, minus, asterisk, rectangle. We next spelled vote: circle, triangle, asterisk, rectangle. When we finished with this, I told her the second step was to practice reading. I told her that if she knew the code and practiced reading, she would learn to read.

Alice then began to tell me about herself. She said she had a baby who watched Sesame Street. She said her baby was going to learn his letters from watching Sesame Street. When I asked her how old her baby was, she told me he was eight years old. She said he went to school. (OBS: Why is an eight-year-old just learning his alphabet?)

She told me that she lives downstairs in her house and her boyfriend lives upstairs. She said her husband had taken advantage of her. She said her boyfriend eats all of her food. She says her past influences everything she does. She says she has been hurt so many times by men that she is afraid to trust them now. She says that she has been raped five times. She takes her son with her when she goes out, to provide some protection.

Interpretive Aside: Alice seems very self-involved. She likes to read and reread passages. She says that this helps her to learn. She does not like to go to the next passage until she knows a lesson and understands every word in it. She seems to be a very nervous person. I wonder why her son of eight has not learned his alphabet? She seems to care very deeply for her son. (3/3)

Adult Sketch

Alice is 35, separated from her husband, and raising an eight-year-old son. She dresses very neatly and wears glasses. Alice wants to come to the center during both day and evening hours, but fears attending in the evening because of previous incidents.

Alice is very religious, and one of her goals is to read the Bible. When the teacher brought her some Bible stories, Alice was delighted. Alice says she reads the Bible each night.

Alice is a warm, friendly, talkative woman. She is accepted by the other students at the center.

Alice is learning to read in order to help her son, who has difficulties in learning. Alice continually seeks out the women teachers and the director of the center to talk about her son. She seems very anxious and at times frustrated in not understanding her son's difficulties and her inability to help him. She enjoys doing many things with her son, such as bike riding. She will not ask him to do something that she cannot do herself. A second reason for learning to read is to improve herself and her lifestyle and obtain a better job.

Alice is very serious in her attempts to learn to read. She does not take long breaks from the class; she does all her assignments, and tries to do everything the teacher requests. She will seek advice and help, and do exactly what the person in authority says. She has good work habits. She has word-attack skills, but her comprehension of the printed word or stories needs improvement. Alice's reading achievement is believed to have deteriorated during the year because of her concerns about her family life.

Alice, a friendly 35-year-old woman, is learning to read to help her son with his difficulties in school. Her main interest in life is child-rearing and providing some means of support for herself (Neugarten and Moore, 1968; Neugarten, Moore, and Lowe, 1968). Her choices of different types of love relationships and arrangements (Gould, 1978) have not provided her with a satisfactory life structure. Although her determination and work habits suggest that Alice's motives are ones of growth and expansion (Kuhlen, 1968; Neugarten, 1968), her dependency on authority figures in the center for advice on child-rearing suggests that her motivation is one of anxiety and frustration with her life outside the center. The staff's concern about her regression in reading suggests the effect of role overload and role conflict (Tittle and Denker, 1980).

13. Snapshot of Annie

Field Notes

> The aide is working with Annie. The story is about a ship docking in the bay. (OBS: When the aide sees that Annie does not understand the concept, she immediately gets up and goes to the board to explain it. There is a map of Virginia on the board on the side of the room. The aide shows Annie the water in blue on the map. She tells her seaports are on the bay. She says ships cannot dock on the ocean. They need to come into the bay. She goes on to explain the concept of the bay. The aide refers to seaports and explains that they cannot be on the ocean because of the weather.
>
> Annie continues her reading of the story about the seaport. The aide calls me over so that I can listen to Annie read. Annie reads by pointing to every word in each sentence. She makes each sentence make sense to her. Her substitutions are meaningful (for example, *shop* for *store*). She is slow and

methodical in her approach. She uses initial consonant sound as a cue. When she is given the first sound, she can usually get the word in question. This is the third time she has read the passage. According to the aide, the first time she read it, she could hardly stumble through it. (1/13)

. . . .

I listen to Annie read "Old Story," p. 8. More common miscues and mixups, but comprehension is correct. I ask her how many times she has read this. She says this is only the second time. I express wonder that she learns so much so quickly with only one reading each lesson. She looks pleased and says, "I got to learn them words. I just remember them. You have to remember them." (3/23)

. . . .

The teacher asks Annie whether she can tell her about the story. Annie says, "He is sick. Mumma want to carry outside. Father want to carry outside. Move to another place."

Annie continues to read. She makes the following miscues:

Tony for Tony's
not for near
cold for no
peoples for folks
get old for get colds
come whats this for what this some
she said for she asked
peoples for folks
to go for to stay
be for not
Gul for Gulf

Annie starts to complain about her eyes. She says she needs glasses. She says she has seen her worker about it. Annie has been eating most of the class, which is quite a change in behavior for her. (4/7)

. . . .

Annie is in class today with her cheese nips and 7-Up. She is staring out the window. (OBS: Annie does not seem to have the interest or the enthusiasm she once had for this class. I wonder whether it is because of her situation at home or because it is spring and she would just like to be outside?) The teacher says Annie's interest has waned. She says that Annie was going like a ball of fire but now she has slowed down. Annie has a son in jail, and the authorities are thinking about putting her husband in jail for a hit-and-run accident. (4/10)

. . . .

Annie is not in class today. Samuel says something happened to one of her daughters. (OBS: I guess this was the final blow to keep her away.) (4/16)

. . . .

Annie says her family is prone to accidents. Recently a 10-year-old daughter got hit by a bus. Evidently, the people in her area are "trash" and want little to do with Annie, a "concerned, upstanding citizen." But Annie is back in class and trying. (4/28)

Adult Sketch

Annie is a large woman, 43 years old, and a mother of 12 children. She said she had gone to school a couple of years. She had not been back to school for 30 years before coming to the center. She has been in the ABR class for two years. She wants to learn to read and to be able to "respect myself." She tries to read street signs and newspapers outside class.

Annie has a very rigid approach to learning how to read. She describes a good teacher as one who has confidence in herself and in other people, "treats people right," and has patience. Annie is very dependent upon the teacher for reassurance, positive feedback, and correction of her mistakes. It seems difficult for her to learn several reading strategies simultaneously.

I suspect that it took much courage for Annie to return to school. She apparently is the strong one in the family, and perhaps in the community, because she refers to herself as a "concerned, upstanding citizen" (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1968). She has had little encouragement from her husband, and obtaining bus money to get to the center has not been easy.

Annie, at 43 years of age with a husband and 12 children, has been in the beginning reading class for two years. Her purpose in learning is to be able to "respect myself." Although her motivation is one of growth-expansion (Kuhlen, 1968), her approach to learning suggests that she is very dependent and perhaps frustrated with the task. Her family difficulties often prevent her from concentrating. Thus, her reading progress is inconsistent.

This suggests that role conflict and the multiple roles of women affect women's adult development (Tittle and Denker, 1980). She seems to be working on the developmental tasks of ages 28-34 (Gould, 1978), a time when a person has discovered that he or she must work directly toward a goal (i.e., learning to read), and accept his or her limitations and the complexity of reality. Annie may also be experiencing the Age 30 Transition (Levinson, 1978), in which she is dissatisfied with one aspect of her life structure and realizes she must make choices if the life structure is to be changed before the second adult life structure of "settling down" begins.

14. Snapshot of Patrick

Field Notes

> Patrick asked me for help. He had to fill in words from the story on p. 8. He had been introduced to these words three times--in isolation with pictures, in the story, and on the same page in a missing-letter exercise that also had pictures. But he had to go back to the story and look for the use of every word needed. He still could not spell sister, despite my doing everything except tell him. He has letter-identification trouble. He needs guidance to do any effective work in here. (Why?) (2/26)
>
> Patrick asks for help in spelling. He does most of the work himself, which today is essentially letter discrimination. He needs me, it seems, as a guide, a troubleshooter, a catalyst. When he comes to the exercise where he must choose one of the words to complete a sentence, I realize that he is "exercising the hell" out of words but does not know what they are, how to read them, even what some of them mean! This is amazing--no word recognition. (OBS: How often does this occur? He can recognize these words, but not read or use them. There is a big difference. Do other ABRs do it?) (3/31)

. . . .

The teacher said to Patrick, "So what are you doing to do? Oh, Patrick, oh, my goodness. Slow down. How many tens? How many ones? What does the number tell you? You save that page and do it in here tomorrow. Now you did every one of them right. You see. What does the word per mean?"

Annie and Patrick are socializing in the back of the room. He hits her with a pencil. He says something to her that I don't understand. Annie says, "Shit, I haven't eaten my breakfas'." She pulls out a soft-drink bottle. (OBS: Patrick has noticed my listening to what is going on. He is missing his two front teeth.) (4/17)

Adult Sketch

Patrick is a very friendly man in his early 40s who smiles and laughs a lot, throwing back his head and revealing that he is missing his two front teeth and has an unhealthy mouth. He has taken on the "court jester" role in the class. (OBS: See this role in Smith and Geoffrey, Complexities of an Urban Classroom.) Thus, he makes jokes at every opportunity.

Yet there is another view of Patrick. He spends a lot of time staring at the ceiling or looking out the window during individual work. (OBS: One wonders what this behavior means.) He is very slow to learn and must be guided and helped, even on the easiest of the exercises. For example, he could not do an exercise to write ring and then remember it five minutes later or use it in a sentence.

Patrick works as a part-time custodian, so he presumably has a speaking vocabulary. The job must provide some self-esteem, and certainly his ability to socialize is evident. He has developed a friendship with Annie, with whom he talks a lot and with whom he takes long breaks between class. He also has confidence in interacting with other, educated adults.

Despite his obviously limited achievement in reading, he is one of the most regular in attendance. (OBS: Why does he really come--to fill in time, to satisfy an employer, to socialize and gain recognition for his social skills in a group, to learn to read? Does his pattern of depending on the teacher in reading spread to all formal instructional situations and to other areas of his life--family, occupation, recreation, mentor relationships?)

Patrick is a friendly man in his early 40s who works part-time as a custodian. Because he has employment and visible social skills, he appears to be working on the developmental tasks of ages 28-34 (Gould, 1978). His ties to his family seem to be minimal. His consistent attendance in spite of limited achievement suggests that he has not challenged the childhood assumption that "rewards will come automatically if I do what is expected of me." His actions suggest the belief that "if I demonstrate commitment and effort (i.e., attendance), the goal will be reached." His off-task behavior suggests that his motivation for learning to read is more one of anxiety and frustration than one of growth and expansion (Kuhlen, 1968). This may be related to his vocational development, where his part-time work as a custodian seems to be more a temporary trial than a serious commitment to this occupation (Super, 1963). Patrick also seems to demonstrate elements of the Age 30 Transition (Levinson, 1978). If a man is going to change his life structure (the dream, mentor relationships, occupation, love relations), it is usually done during this phase of life, prior to "settling down." In the second adult structure of "settling down," a man has developed competence in his niche in society and "works at making it." The vision of the steps to the top is important and in the process of achieving senior status in one's world, a man gains increased authority and "becomes his own man" (Levinson, 1978).

In the Mid-Life Transition, the life structure is again questioned by asking, "What have I accomplished, what do I give to and receive from my family, friends, community, and work?" Because Patrick has apparently had few life experiences, he appears to be in the earlier transitional phases.

The data presented in Adult Snapshots are summarized in Chart 5, Adult Development and General Reading Behavior of ABRs. The data are summarized in terms of Gould's phases of adult consciousness (1978); the dominant motivation as suggested by Kuhlen (1968); and phases of adult development as suggested by Levinson (1978) and Tittle and Denker (1980). Each adult's reading behavior is further characterized as inconsistent, minimal, regressive, or progressive. Chart 5 will be discussed, and implications for effective instruction and further research will be presented, in the next section.

Discussion and Implications

The initial question was, "Do differences among ages indicate differences in adult development among adult beginning readers?" In this study, the age range of the 14 adults was from 18 to 43 years. Does age indicate the developmental phase of an individual? Here, phase is used to refer to what previous researchers and theorists have called "stages," "periods," or "seasons." "Adult phase" suggests that within a life cycle there are periods each of which is qualitatively different from the others and has its own distinctive characteristics. Between these phases occurs what Levinson (1978) calls "transition" and Sheehy (1976) calls "crisis." The purpose here is not to resolve the dispute about the existence of a mid-life crisis on the basis of different studies, samples, and research designs (see Stevens-Long, 1979, pp. 252-266). It is to note for the reader the conceptual basis for the research questions.

CHART 5

ADULT DEVELOPMENT AND GENERAL READING BEHAVIORS OF ABRS

Adult, Age	Adult Consciousness (Gould, 1978)	Adult Development		Dominant Motivation (Kuhlen, 1968)	General Reading Behaviors
		Men (Levinson, 1978)	Women (Tittle & Denker, 1980)		
Jim, 18	16-22 tasks	Early Adult Transition	N.A. *	Anxiety goal diffused	inconsistent
Betsy, 21	16-22 tasks	N.A.	Premarriage	Anxiety goal diffused	minimal
Lonnie, 22	16-22 tasks	Early Adult Transition	N.A.	Growth-expansion	regressive
Rick, 22	16-22 tasks	Entering the Adult World	N.A.	Growth-expansion	progressive
Mike, 23	16-22 tasks	Entering the Adult World	N.A.	Growth-expansion	progressive
Casey, 23	16-22 tasks	Early Adult Transition	N.A.	Anxiety	minimal
Joan, 25	16-22 tasks	N.A.	Premarriage	Anxiety	progressive
Carol, 27	22-28 tasks	N.A.	Multiple roles	Anxiety	minimal
Horace, 27	28-34 tasks	Thirties Transition	N.A.	Anxiety	minimal
Carl, 27	28-34 tasks	Thirties Transition	N.A.	Growth-expansion	minimal
Joy, 32	28-34 tasks	Thirties Transition	Multiple roles	Growth-expansion	progressive
Alice, 35	28-34 tasks	N.A.	Multiple roles	Anxiety	regressive
Patrick, 42	22-28 tasks	Thirties Transition	N.A.	Anxiety	minimal
Annie, 43	28-34 tasks	Thirties Transition	Multiple roles	Growth/Anxiety	inconsistent

* N.A. = not applicable

Chart 5 will help us discover what the span of 25 years among the ages of ABRs in this study means.

1. Two distinct phases of adult consciousness emerged among these 14 adults. Using the phases of adult consciousness (Column 1), we find that both males and females, aged 18 to 25 years, were working on developmental tasks found in ages 16-22 in Gould's study. The older adults, ages 27-43, were working on developmental tasks found in ages 28-34, with two exceptions. Carol, 27, and Patrick, 42, seemed to concentrate on the tasks found in ages 22 to 28. Among these 14 adults, aged 18-43, three phases of adult consciousness were discovered, with most adults trying to resolve childhood assumptions found operating at ages 16-22 and 28-43.

2. A second pattern among these adults appears in the phases of adult development as suggested by Levinson's study and Tittle and Denker's synthesis of research. Among these adults aged 18-43, three developmental phases are evident: Early Adult Transition, Entering the Adult World, and the Thirties Transition. Generally, the younger group had more variance.

3. A third pattern is the difference betwen men and women in adult development. Tittle and Denker's review of the research (1980) suggests that theories of adult development based on research on men do not account for the phases of adult development found in women. The data confirm Tittle and Denker's interpretation for the younger group, but raise further questions for the older group of women. In the younger group, the behaviors of Betsy, 18, and Joan, 25, did not fit most of the developmental tasks Levinson found in his sample of 40 men. Betsy and Joan, both exhibiting similar phases of adult consciousness, could best be described as in a

premarriage period, with expectations that marriage would be a full-time occupation. However, all of the older group of women--consisting of Carol, 27, Joy, 32, Alice, 35, and Annie, 43--demonstrated multiple roles and conflicts among the roles of spouse, parent, worker, and student, as suggested by Tittle and Denker. Two women, Joy and Annie, also exhibited behavior in the Thirties Transition which Levinson found in his study of men. These two women, in their decision to enter a basic reading program, were trying to "better themselves," i.e., to acquire skills that could ultimately result in a change of life structure--or, as Levinson put it, another season of life. Levinson found that all members of his male volunteer sample progressed through adult phases in order. The findings in this study suggest that some beginning adult women readers can experience a Thirties Transition in which forming a dream, developing mentor relationships, establishing an occupational goal, and changing love relationships are interpreted in terms of an educational goal, i.e., learning to read.

4. The phase of adult consciousness relates in general to the phase of adult development. There is more variance among the younger adults (18-25), whose adult consciousness was challenging the omnipotence of parents and forming identity. Some of the younger adults were in the Early Adult Transition, and some had Entered the Adult World by making initial choices to build a life structure. The older adults--with two exceptions (Carol, 27, and Patrick, 42)--were in the Thirties Transition and simultaneously resolving the adult consciousness tasks associated with ages 28 to 34.

5. An important finding not reflected in Chart 5 is the complexity within the phases of adult consciousness and adult development. In an

attempt to find patterns, the researchers analyzed the dominant tasks of each adult within each phase. Thus, the three adults who were Entering the Adult World were working on different developmental tasks. A similar pattern was found among the five adults in the Thirties Transition. This pattern was also found when using the components of the childhood assumptions to identify the phase of adult consciousness.

6. There is no pattern in the relationship of age, adult consciousness, adult development, and dominant motivation for learning to read. The dominant motivation of anxiety and frustration occurred in all phases of adult consciousness and adult development. Further, the dominant motivation changed during the year in two adults as the task of learning to read became more frustrating. This is not surprising, since the longer the adult attended the class, the more reality-based became his or her assessment of the requirements to meet the original goal of learning to read.

7. There was no pattern in the relationship of age, phase of adult consciousness, phase of adult development, dominant motivation, and reading behaviors in the group. These adults exhibited four kinds of general behavior in learning to read: inconsistent, minimal, progressive, and regressive. Inconsistent behavior occurred in two phases of adult consciousness and in three phases of adult development. Regressive behavior occurred in two phases of adult consciousness and in two phases of adult development.

In summary, the concepts of phases of adult consciousness, phases of adult development, and dominant motivation are not directly related to the general reading behaviors of these adults as a group. Other variables that might directly affect reading behaviors were hypothesized, such as the materials and the teaching procedures. It is hypothesized that the plans and tasks of adult consciousness and adult development affect teacher decision-making about materials and teaching procedures, which in turn might affect reading achievement directly.

However, when the analysis is shifted from the group to the individual, then a relationship between the developmental task of a phase and reading behaviors provides more explanatory power. When learning to read was an integral part of a developmental task of an adult, the adult showed progressive reading behaviors. When learning to read was not a major focus of a developmental task, the adult exhibited inconsistent, minimal, or regressive reading behaviors. Further, in resolving a developmental task in which reading was central, an adult could exhibit a growth-expansion or an anxiety-frustration motivation.

This study suggests that the age of an adult is not enough to identify the phase of adult development or adult consciousness. Adult beginning readers have more variability than was found by Gould (1978) or Levinson (1978), whose participants were adult readers. Women's adult development among these beginning readers differs qualitatively from men's adult development, as hypothesized by Tittle and Denker (1980). Further, this study supports Kuhlen's (1968) postulate that both growth-expansion and anxiety-frustration can serve as the dominant motivation in a developmental task related to reading.

Perhaps this analysis illustrates the conclusion of Robert C. Peck (1968) in discussing the use of developmental criteria rather than age criteria for the study of phases in later life:

> There is a greater variability in the chronological age at which a given psychological crisis arises in later life, than is true of the crisis-points of youth . . . . In studying children, at the pre-pubertal stage, we can almost take it for granted that they are almost working on the same total set of developmental tasks. With adults, the pattern of developmental tasks can vary more greatly, from one individual to another. (Peck, 1968, p. 92.)

Recognizing the limitations of ethnographic research and the exploratory nature of the study, what are the implications for instruction?

1. Knowledge of the general phase of adult consciousness and adult development can provide the adult reading teacher with a deeper understanding of the behaviors that a beginning adult reader exhibits in the learning-to-read process. The age of an adult provides one indicator of phase of adult development or consciousness, but other information is needed. In addition, the developmental phases of women differ from those of men.

2. An understanding of the behaviors related to adult development may aid a teacher in making decisions related to materials and instructional procedures. A teacher decides which adult behaviors are responded to and reinforced and which behaviors are ignored. A teacher could relate the importance of learning to read to an individual's developmental task. A teacher may be able to recognize more easily the adult's "readiness to learn" and the "teachable moment" (Havinghurst, 1961). Through this approach a teacher may foster attitudes and behaviors that promote attendance and achievement.

3. It is important to identify whether the dominant motivation for learning to read is anxiety-frustration or growth-expansion. A teacher's procedure with a student motivated by anxiety-frustration would differ from his or her procedure with a student motivated by growth-expansion. One of the keys to helping adults learn to read is knowing how much frustration each student can handle.

4. Because of the wide variations among phases of adult development and adult consciousness, it seems beneficial that adults receive both group instruction and individual instruction. However, many factors will influence the allocation of instructional time (Mezirow, Darkenwald, and Knox, 1975; Bowren and Zintz, 1977; Karnes, Ginn, and Maddox, 1980).

The findings of this study suggest tentative implications for further research.

1. There may be greater variability in adult consciousness among adult beginning readers than was found in Gould's study (1978) of patients and nonpatients, male and female. Because Gould's findings in patients were verified by survey research, the results are relevant for reading adults.

2. There may be greater variability in male adult development among adult beginning readers than was found in Levinson's study (1978) of 40 men. Although not all of the men in his research graduated from high school, it is implied that all of them could read.

3. Female adult development differs qualitatively from male adult development among ABRs. This finding supports those of Tittle and Denker (1980). Further research in vocational development among women ABRs is

needed.

4. This study supports Kuhlen's (1968) postulate that anxiety-frustration can serve as a dominant motivation in adult development.

5. The phases of adult consciousness (Gould, 1978) among these ABRs parallel the phases of adult development (Levinson, 1978), with some exceptions.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

This study was undertaken to identify the reading strategies which facilitated or inhibited the progress of ABRs. An ethnographic approach was used so that factors influencing the ABRs' acquisition of these reading strategies could be identified.

Using an adapted form of the Goodman and Burke (1971) taxonomy of oral reading miscues as initial framework, the investigators described ABRs' reading behavior. In addition, field notes on classroom observations and on interviews with ABRs, teachers, and consultants were considered in discussing the pattern of reading behavior of ABRs. A detailed analysis of the reading and learning-to-read behavior of seven ABRs and general descriptions of the reading behavior of seven more ABRs provided a basis for identifying reading behaviors associated with success and failure. The highly idiosyncratic reading behavior of ABRs and the limited number of teaching situations observed preclude valid generalizations. However, the long-term observation of ABRs made it possible to suggest that given reading behaviors promote success or failure in learning to read. Specifically, ABRs who thought of reading as discovering meaning, were aware of when they were not gaining meaning, and had been exposed to syllabication and could manipulate vowels and syllables, tended to make progress. ABRs who thought of reading as word calling, did not make successive attempts at words, and had trouble reorganizing visual input, tended to make less progress. This provided a basis for speculating on guidelines for instruction which would promote the use of successful strategies and overcome inhibiting strategies. Further testing of these guidelines is planned.

The instructional context was also analyzed to determine what variables influenced the ABRs' acquisition of given reading strategies. As expected, the ABRs' attendance and ability to pay attention during classes appeared to influence acquisition of strategies. Since all ABR teachers are concerned about dropouts, it is of special interest that ABRs who felt that their teacher considered how they wanted to learn as well as what they wanted to learn tended to stay longer. ABRs who felt that teachers did not consider how they wanted to learn tended to drop out. All ABR teachers are aware of the importance of determining what students want to learn. It now appears equally important to consider how they want to learn.

The way a teacher conducts a lesson provides a model for learning. When a teacher introduced words in isolation or focused on decoding words, students tended to try to recall these words by dealing with their graphic features, not by decoding. When teachers preceded reading with a discussion of concepts in the text, students tended to read for meaning and use context in identifying new words. Students' beliefs about reading, perhaps guided by prior schooling, also influenced reading strategies: regardless of the skills or strategies being taught, students tried to learn words by their own system (usually by spelling words).

It appears, then, that what teachers teach is less important than how they teach; and the way they teach is more effective if the taught strategy is believed in by ABRs and modeled by teachers and peers.

An examination of the life tasks ABRs face indicates that standard literature on adults may not account for ABRs' behavior. ABRs within any given age range may not be dealing with the same tasks as their literate peers. This may have implications for studies of adult development where the effect of literacy on social interaction and growth should be analyzed, and this finding certainly underscores the importance of exploring a wide variety of social/cultural activities with ABRs.

This eight-month study, preceded by two months of training for observers and followed by two months of analysis of data, does provide some empirical basis for potential guidelines for instructing ABRs. Further research is needed before definitive guidelines can be established.

This study may assist others who, using different instructional concepts and different populations of ABRs, want to evaluate more closely the influence of personological variables and instructional context on the learning-to-read behaviors of ABRs.

It is recognized that descriptions can be "rich and not valid"; explanations can be "rational and wrong." Every attempt to validate data was made by comparing class observations, test data, and information from interviews with ABRs, teachers, tutors, and consultants. Where data were consistent, they were assumed to be valid. Where data were inconsistent, an attempt was made to identify the reasons. Although insight has been gained into ABRs' behavior in learning to read, the conclusions here are based on data gathered from a nonrandom sample of adults involved in limited learning contexts. As noted in the introduction, the goal was to raise questions, not to answer them. This study is only a first step in learning more about the reading behavior of ABRs.

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Appendix A

Sample QUIP (Quick Inventory of Progress)

Guidelines, Paragraphs, and Word Lists

GUIDELINES FOR ADMINISTERING WORD LISTS AND PARAGRAPHS (Forms 1-4)

1. Establish rapport.

2. Say, "I need your help. Would you read these to me? I am using the tape recorder because I have to write down what you say and I can't remember everything. This will only take a few minutes."

3. Show the adult the first word list and say: "I have a list of words I'd like you to read to me. Start here." Show only three words at a time. After seven miscues in a row, stop and ask, "Do you know any more on the list?"

4. In using paragraphs:

   a. Say, "Here is a story I'd like you to read to yourself. When you finish, I'll ask you to tell it to me. It's about . . ."

   b. If the student makes more than seven miscues in one paragraph, give an earlier-level paragraph. If the student makes fewer than seven miscues, go to a higher level.

   c. After silent reading, say, "Please read it aloud."

   d. Ask the student to tell the story.

   e. Ask questions appearing on the back of the story card.

Note: The silent reading was not practiced, because most adults consistently read aloud regardless of the teachers' instructions.

TOO SICK TO WORK*

Joe was sick. He worked at a plant. He put wax in boxes. Today he did not want to go to work. He wanted to stay home. He had not done this before.

He called his boss and said, "I hate to let you down, but I am sick. I will miss work today."

His boss said, "You stay home. I saw you in the park pool yesterday and you looked sick. It looked like you would drown."

"Yes," said Joe, "I think I ate too much corn. I tried to play ball at the end of the day. I was so sick, I could not pick up the bat."

"OK," said Joe's boss, "I will see you later."

Step 1

This is a story about a man who was too sick to work.

1. Retell the story in your own words.
2. Why did Joe stay home?
3. What makes you think Joe's boss believed him?
4. Why would he put wax in boxes?
5. Do you think Joe is dependable? Why?

---

* These paragraphs have been adapted. Further changes are planned.

NAME: ______________________________ FORM 1

DATE: ______________ INSTRUCTOR: ____________________

CENTER: __________________________ ORDER GIVEN: ______

NOTES: ____

1) down ____
2) yes ____
3) bat ____
4) home ____
5) work ____
6) end ____
7) plant ____
8) wax ____
9) sick ____
10) park ____
11) lid ____
12) boss ____
13) pool ____
14) done ____
15) drown ____
16) corn ____
17) bar ____
18) meet ____
19) roll ____
20) space ____

21) flash ____
22) barn ____
23) post ____
24) trail ____
25) story ____
26) free ____
27) listen ____
28) jackpot ____
29) spy ____
30) birdhouse ____
31) hitch ____
32) candle ____
33) mailbox ____
34) icebox ____
35) donkey ____
36) footstep ____
37) finish ____
38) chief ____
39) arithmetic ____
40) comfort ____

41) bucket ____
42) lung ____
43) different ____
44) windmill ____
45) litterbug ____
46) lace ____
47) timer ____
48) screw ____
49) it's ____
50) build ____
51) checkbook ____
52) knit ____
53) major ____
54) lantern ____
55) subtraction ____
56) view ____
57) disobey ____
58) tortoise ____
59) remarriage ____
60) misprint ____

NAME: ______________________________ FORM 1 (continued)

DATE: ____________ INSTRUCTOR: ____________________

CENTER: ________________________ ORDER GIVEN: ______

NOTES: ____

61) runaway ____
62) dusk ____
63) scold ____
64) capture ____
65) among ____
66) trader ____
67) badge ____
68) confuse ____
69) sundae ____
70) smelly ____
71) tombstone ____
72) siren ____
73) Yankee ____
74) principal ____
75) platter ____
76) confusedly ____
77) disqualify ____
78) spiritual ____
79) circular ____
80) allowance ____
81) miner ____
82) starchy ____
83) southerly ____
84) fertilizer ____
85) impassable ____
86) nozzle ____
87) dandruff ____
88) believer ____
89) basin ____
90) ornament ____
91) cosmetics ____
92) wreckage ____
93) whittle ____
94) miserable ____
95) dishonor ____
96) matinee ____
97) callus ____
98) sanitation ____
99) architecture ____
100) demonstrate ____

Appendix B

Reading Strategies of ABRs

READING STRATEGY	RENDERED	STIMULUS WORD
1. initial sound/symbol association	/c/-/c̍/-/c/	crane
2. word pattern	cane	
3. prominent consonants	car	
4. segment sounds	/cra/, /ane/, /cra/, crane	
5. maintain blend	c.r.a., cra., crash	
6. manipulate vowel	crisk, /cru/, crash	
7. vowel pattern	grower	flower
8. initial syllable	cus, cus, cuser, custard	customer
9. multi-syllable	cus.tom/cuser	
10. manipulate syllables	custima-customer	
11. suffixes	democracy/is	democratic
12. use of context	a democratic society	a democratic society